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PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

JANUARY
TO
DECEMBER, 1901.

STANDARD LIBRARY

VOL. XXIII. THIRTY-FIRST SESSION.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Donations to the Library ...	1, 39, 93, 145, 262, 303, 365
Purchases for the Library ...	2
Nomination of Candidates ...	2, 94, 146, 262, 304
Election of Members ...	2, 40, 94, 146, 262, 366
Notices of Decease of Members ...	261, 303

No. CLXXII. JANUARY.

Secretary's Report for the Year 1900 ...	3-8
Council and Officers for the Year 1901 ...	9
ARTHUR E. WEIGALL.—Egyptian Notes :--	
The Sacerdotal Title <i>Gemât</i> ...	10-11
Antiquities in the Museum of the Société Jersiaise ...	12-13
A Statuette of Min-Mes, Chief Magician to Rameses II ...	13-15
A Small Porcelain Naos of Bast (<i>Plate</i>) ...	15
F. LL. GRIFFITH, F.S.A.—Notes on Demotic Philology :	
The Khamuas Stories ...	16-18
JOHN WARD, F.S.A. — Collection of Scarabs — <i>continued</i>	
(4 <i>Plates</i>) ...	19-34
F. G. HILTON PRICE, DIR. S.A.—Notes upon a rare figure	
of Amen-Rā (2 <i>Plates</i>) ...	35-36
REV. W. O. E. OESTERLEY.—The Symbolism of the “Pair	
of Shoes” ...	36-38

NO. CLXXIII. FEBRUARY.

	PAGE
F. LEGGE.—The Names of Demons in the Magic Papyri	41-49
REV. A. J. DELATTRE, S.J.—Quelques Lettres Assyriennes (continued from Vol. XXII, Part 8)	50-71
F. LL. GRIFFITH, F.S.A.—Chronological Value of Egyptian Words found in the Bible	72-77
REV. F. C. BURKITT.—Note on the Wisdom of the Chaldeans	77, 78
JOHN WARD, F.S.A.—Collection of Scarabs (4 <i>Plates</i>) ...	79-91

NO. CLXXIV. MARCH.

REV. PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE (<i>President</i>).—Notes on :—	
The Hyksos	95-98
The Hittite Inscriptions	98-99
The Arzawa Letters	99-113
Kandaules of Lydia	113
ALFRED BOISSIER.—Documents Assyriens relatif à la Magie	114-130
E. TOWRY WHYTE, M.A., F.S.A.—An Egyptian Painter's Palette (<i>Plate</i>)	130, 131
JOSEPH OFFORD AND E. GILBERT HIGHTON, M.A., CANTAB. —Notes on "The 'De Duabus Viis"; a New Latin Version of the First Six Chapters of the "Didache" or, ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΟΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ	132-137
F. LL. GRIFFITH.—The Fraser Scarabs	137-139
MRS. A. GRENFELL.—Note on Scarab No. 384, in Mr. Ward's Collection	139-141
REV. DR. T. K. CHEYNE—Notes on—	
Genesis vi, 16	141-142
Isaiah xviii, 1	142-143
Proverbs xxx, 15	143 144

No. CLXXV. APRIL AND MAY (*Double Number*).

	PAGE
SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.S.A.— Some Unconventional Views on the Text of the Bible...	147-159
F. W. READ and A. C. BRYANT, B.A.—A Mythological Text from Memphis (<i>Plate</i>)	160-187
THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES.—Assyriological Gleanings.—II (5 <i>Plates</i>)	188-210
A. H. SAYCE.—Greek Ostraka from Egypt	211-217
PERCY E. NEWBERRY.—Extracts from my Notebooks (IV) (<i>Plate</i>)	218-224
GEORGE ST. CLAIR.—Pasht and the Sed Festival... ..	225-229
JAMES HENRY BREASTED.—The Wadi Halfa Stela of Senwosret I (3 <i>Plates</i>)	230-235
JAMES HENRY BREASTED.—Varia	236-253
JOSEPH OFFORD.—Arza and Aziza, and other Archæo- logical Notes	244-247
A. WIEDEMANN.—Egyptian Notes... ..	248-251
WILHELM SPIEGELBERG.—Contribution to the Second Tale of Khamuas	252-254
ROBERT BROWN, JUNR., F.S.A.—A Greek Circle of late times showing Euphratean Influence	255-257
E. TOWRY WHYTE.—Palette (<i>Plate</i>)	257-258
ARTHUR E. WEIGALL.—An Inscribed Disc of the XXIIInd Dynasty	259-260

No. CLXXVI. JUNE.

PROF. DR. A. WIEDEMANN.—Bronze Circles and Purifi- cation Vessels in Egyptian Temples	263-274
A. J. BUTLER.—On the Identity of "Al Mukaukis" of Egypt	275-290
WALTER L. NASH, F.S.A.—The Tomb of Mentuhetep I (?) at Dêr . el . Bahri, Thebes (3 <i>Plates</i>)	291-293
F. LL. GRIFFITH, F.S.A.—A Sale of Land in the reign of Philopator (2 <i>Plates</i>)	294-302

No. CLXXVII. NOVEMBER.

	PAGE
SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.—Some Unconventional Views on the Text of the Bible—II	305-325
Remarks by CANON R. B. GIRDLESTONE, DR. PAUL RUBEN, and DR. GASTER...	325-328
Reply by SIR H. H. HOWORTH	328-330
A. J. DELATTRE, S.J.—Quelques Lettres Assyriennes . . .	331-359
W. L. NASH, F.S.A.—The Tomb of Pa-shedu (3 <i>Plates</i>)	360-361
E. J. PILCHER.—A Cylinder-Seal bearing the name of Gehazi	362

No. CLXXVIII. DECEMBER.

THE HON. E. M. PLUNKET.—The Chinese Calendar, with some remarks with reference to that of the Chaldeans ...	367-377
A. E. WEIGALL.—Some Egyptian Weights in the Collection of Prof. Petrie	378-395
SEYMOUR DE RICCI.—Inscriptions concerning Diana of the Ephesians	396-409

LIST OF PLATES.

	PAGE
Naos of Bast 	15
Egyptian Scarabs (8 <i>Plates</i>) 	32, 86
Amen-Ra (2 <i>Plates</i>) 	35
Egyptian Painter's Palette 	130
Text from Memphis 	160
Assyrian Inscriptions (5 <i>Plates</i>) 	188, 192, 204
Handle of a Dagger: Blue Glazed Plaque 	222
Stele of Senwosret (3 <i>Plates</i>) 	230
Egyptian Gilder's Palette	257
Tomb of Mentuhetep I (3 <i>Plates</i>) 	292
Sale of Land (2 <i>Plates</i>) 	296
Tomb of Pa-shedu (3 <i>Plates</i>) 	360
Chinese Calendar	372
Egyptian Weights (7 <i>Plates</i>) 	394

NOTICES.

SUBSCRIPTIONS to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount, £1 1s., at once to Messrs. Lloyds' Bank, Limited, 16, St. James's Street, S.W.

PAPERS proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having NEW MEMBERS to propose, are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council.

A few complete sets of the publications of the Society can be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. HARRY RYLANDS, 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

As the new list of members will shortly be printed, Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. IX of the *Transactions*.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-FIRST SESSION, 1901.

VOLUME XXIII.

First Meeting, 9th January, 1901.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

F. D. MOCATTA, Esq., VICE-PRESIDENT.

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—A catalogue of the Scarabs belonging to George Fraser. 8vo. London. 1900.

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Della Stela del Foro e della sua iscrizione Arcaica.

[No. CLXXII.]

I

A

The following has been purchased by the Council for the Library :—

The Life and Confession of Asenath and Daughter of Pentephres of Heliopolis, narrating how the all-beautiful Joseph took her to wife. Prepared by Mary Broderick, from notes supplied by the late Sir Peter le Page Renouf. London. 8vo. 1900.

The following Library was nominated for election at the next Meeting, to be held on the 13th February, 1901 :—

The Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society having been nominated at the Meeting held on the 12th December, 1900 :—

Rev. C. Drayton Thomas, Toddington, Dunstable.

Herbert Sefton Jones, Kazarma, Walpole Road, Croydon.

Rev. John Wright, D.D., St. Pauls, Minesota, U.S.A.

To be added to the list of subscribers :—

The Royal University Library, Griefswald.

The Chairman announced that Monsieur Hartwig Derenbourg had been elected an Honorary Member of the Society, by the Council.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1901.

In submitting my twenty-second annual report, reference must be again made to the severe losses the Society has suffered from the death of some of its most distinguished members; it has been a sad duty to announce these losses from time to time. I would particularly mention The REV. ROBERT GWYNNE, B.A., LIEUT.-GENERAL PITT-RIVERS, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., The REV. JOHN MEADOWS RODWELL, M.A., The MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., ETC., ETC.; kind friends who have passed from among us during the year just ended.

The Society has now completed the *Thirtieth Year* of its existence, and on viewing the mass of valuable material it has published, and placed in the hands of scholars, it must occur to every one, that the Society has not received that amount of general support to which I think it is justly entitled.

The number on the roll of Members has, it is true, been fairly maintained, and it is a pleasure to thank those friends who have so kindly obtained the names of new Members; there is still, however, much more that might be done, if a determined effort was made in this direction. There must be many who would be willing, if only they were asked, to help us to place a greater quantity of material, of a more varied character, in the hands of scholars and students, and at the same time gain the opportunity of reading it themselves. I have many times appealed to the whole body of Members to assist the Society in this manner; I again repeat the appeal, in the hope that a special effort will be made on our entrance into the XXth Century.

The last Session commenced in November, 1899, but the present volume, like its immediate predecessors, includes the *Proceedings* from January to December, 1900.

The Papers read before the Society, and printed in volume XXII, will be found not inferior in value and interest to those of former years, and the best thanks of the Society are due to the many writers who have thus contributed to the success of our meetings and publications.

In the last report I mentioned that some papers dealing with subjects more nearly connected with the Bible had been promised, several of these have appeared in the *Proceedings* during the past year, and it is hoped

PERCY E. NEWBERRY :

Note, the *āaf*, "flies" (April, May).

FR. W. v. BISSING :

Notes (April, May).

F. LL. GRIFFITH, F.S.A. :

The Aberdeen Reshep Stela. Plate (June).

ARTHUR E. WEIGALL :

The Funeral Tablets in the Brighton Museum. 2 plates (June).

JOHN WARD, F.S.A. :

Egyptian Scarabs. 4 plates (June) ; 4 plates (December).




Egyptian Scarabs. Text (June and December).

PROF. SAYCE (*President*) :

I. Objects from the Tomb of a Præ-dynastic Egyptian King ;

II. Some early Egyptian seal cylinders. Plate (November).

ALAN H. GARDINER :

Notes : 1.  and  ; 2. The Demonstrative  and its derivatives (November).

PROF. J. LIEBLEIN :

Le lever héliaque de Sothis le 16 Pharmouti (December).

JOSEPH OFFORD :

Præfecti Ægypti (December).

SEYMOUR DE RICCI :

The Præfects of Egypt (December).

PROF. DR. KARL PIEHL :

Egyptian Notes (December).

E. TOWRY WHYTE, M.A., F.S.A. :

Note on an early Egyptian King (December).

ALFRED BOISSIER :

Notes d'Assyriologie (March).

PROF. SAYCE (*President*) :

Note on excavations in Babylonia (April, May) ;

The Fall of the Assyrian Empire (April, May) ;

The Language of Mitanni (June) ;

Additional Note (June).

REV. A. J. DELATTRE, S.J. :

Quelques Lettres Assyriennes (November).

THEO. G. PINCHES :

The Temples of Babylonia (December).

DR. M. GASTER :

"The Wisdom of the Chaldeans," an ancient Hebrew Astrological MS. (December).

THE HON. MISS PLUNKET :

Ancient Indian Astronomy. Plate (February).

ROBERT BROWN, JUNR., F.S.A. :

A Euphratean Circle of 360° (February).

THE HON MISS PLUNKET :

Notes : Ahur Mazda, etc. (February).

JOSEPH OFFORD :

Phœnician Inscription at Greenock. Plate (March).

JOSEPH OFFORD :

Note on the Geography of Phœnician Inscriptions (March).

E. L. PILCHER :

Phœnician Inscription at Greenock (June).

PROF. A. H. SAYCE (*President*) :

Note on the "Hittites," additions to his paper in the June *Proceedings* (February).

JOSEPH OFFORD :

Report, Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions (November).

The thanks of the Society are again due to Mr. Walter L. Nash, for having so kindly made the photographs required for most of the illustrations that have appeared in the volume of *Proceedings* for the past year. To him we are also indebted for the very complete indexes to the separate volumes, which not only add very much to the completeness of them, but are a great assistance in using them.

In the November *Proceedings*, was commenced the publication of a series of photographic plates taken direct from the original scarabs and seal cylinders in the collection of Mr. John Ward, F.S.A. These, when the series is complete, will number sixteen plates, containing about five hundred impressions, Mr. Ward having kindly placed them at the disposal of the Society. The remaining plates will be issued in future Parts of the *Proceedings*.

In my last report I referred to the MS. Index already prepared and presented to the Society by Mr. Nash in order to complete the series of Transactions by adding the ninth volume. I also then stated that it was quite complete, and only waited the necessary number of subscribers to enable the Council to have it printed. It is much to be regretted that this very desirable position has not yet been attained, and I can only hope that the members will show their appreciation of Mr. Nash's generous gift, and laborious work, by at once subscribing for a sufficient number of copies, in order to enable the Council to place the MS. Index in the printer's hands.

It is with pleasure that I am able to report that M. Naville, who so kindly undertook the completion of the late Sir Peter Renouf's Translation of the Book of the Dead, has made considerable progress in the work, and hopes in a short time to have sufficient ready to commence printing. Six parts of the large paper edition have already appeared, and only two are now required in order to complete the work.

The number of kindred Societies with which publications are exchanged has been increased. Many donations of books have also been made by various authors, to whom the best thanks of the Society are due for thus placing their works within the reach of many to whom they may be of real service, and others have been purchased by the Council, but it is to be regretted that the funds at their disposal for this purpose are not sufficient to make the Library as complete as could be wished.

A list of many works especially wanted for the use of the Members has been printed many times at the end of the *Proceedings*. This list is necessarily altered from time to time, owing to the kind responses made by the presentation of some of the books required. It is sincerely to be hoped, for the benefit of those students who use our Library, that those Members who have duplicate copies of those works entered in the list, or others connected with the objects of the Society, will present them, and thus give to students the opportunity and benefit of using them.

The cost of printing the publications is necessarily very great, and it surely ought to be unnecessary for me to point out year after year, that, in order that the work may be properly carried out, liberal contributions are to be desired from the Members.

Much inconvenience, and correspondence which should be unnecessary, has been caused by some Members not paying their subscriptions regularly. I must call attention to the notices issued in the *Proceedings* at the end of each year, one of which points out *that the subscriptions are due in advance in January*. I need hardly point out that if subscriptions are not paid regularly, difficulty and trouble occurs as to the amount of money at the disposal of the Council.

The audited Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1900 shows that the funds available for that year have been £617 8s. 1d., and the expenditure for the same period has been £556 14s. 10d. The balance carried forward from 1899 was £64 18s. 6d., and that from the year just ended is £60 13s. 3d.

The thanks of the Meeting were offered to the Secretary for his services to the Society during the past year.

The following Officers and Council for the current year were elected :—

COUNCIL, 1901.

President.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., &c., &c.

Vice-Presidents.

THE MOST REV. HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD AMHERST OF HACKNEY.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD HALSBURY.

ARTHUR CATES.

F. D. MOCATTA, F.S.A., &c.

WALTER MORRISON, M.P.

SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART., D.C.L., M.D., &c.

ALEXANDER PECKOVER, LL.D., F.S.A.

F. G. HILTON PRICE, Dir. S.A.

REV. GEORGE RAWLINSON, D.D. (Canon of Canterbury).

THE RIGHT REV. S. W. ALLEN, D.D. (R.C. Bishop of Shrewsbury).

GENERAL SIR CHARLES WARREN, G.C.M.G., &c., &c.

Council.

REV. CHARLES JAMES BALL, M.A.

REV. PROF. T. K. CHEYNE, D.D.

THOMAS CHRISTY, F.L.S.

DR. M. GASTER.

DR. J. HALL GLADSTONE, F.R.S.

F. LL. GRIFFITH, F.S.A.

REV. ALBERT LÖWY, LL.D., &c.

REV. JAMES MARSHALL, M.A.

PROF. G. MASPERO.

CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE.

PROF. E. NAVILLE.

J. POLLARD.

EDWARD B. TYLOR, D.C.L.,

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F.S.A.

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Hon. Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

F. LEGGE.

Honorary Librarian.

W. HARRY RYLANDS (*pro. tem.*).

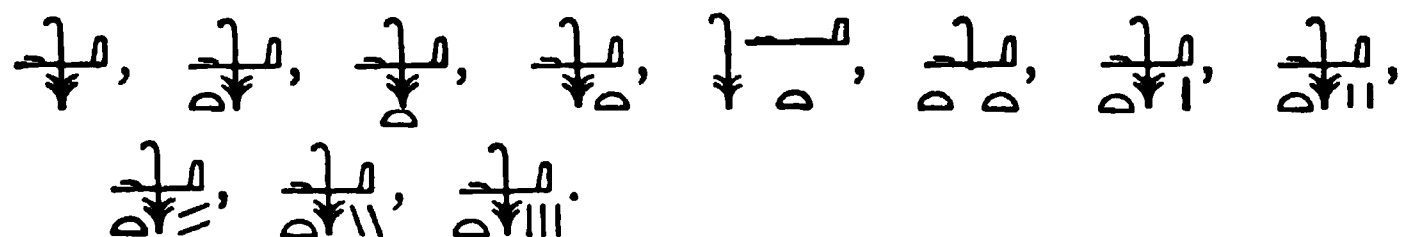
EGYPTIAN NOTES.




The Sacerdotal Title Gemât.

The title *Gemât* was held by nearly every Egyptian lady whose time was not otherwise entirely occupied. The duties incumbent upon this office are not known with any certainty, but it is probable that those of the church choristers of the present day are of a very similar nature. The *Gemât* was the chantress of the temple, who, with the chanter priests, the harpers, and the sistrum shakers, made music in honour of the Deity. The temple of every god possessed its female choir; and therefore a lady living in a provincial town who desired to become a *Gemât* had not, unless she had particular scruples against the local god, to leave her home in so doing. The office must have been a more or less desirable one; for I have noticed many stelæ which record the fact that all the female members of a family—sometimes twelve or fourteen in number—held the title.

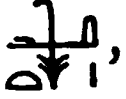



Strange to say, the important subject of the Egyptian Priesthood has been but little studied; and the title *Gemât* has thus passed untouched through the scrutiny which has been directed by modern savants upon so many details of Egyptology. I should like, therefore, to call attention to this interesting order, and to point out a certain fact concerning it which I do not think has been noticed before.






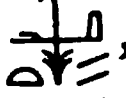



Gemâ, *Gemât*, or *Gemâti*, as the title is variously named, is written in many different ways, among which may be noticed the following:


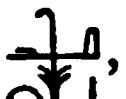




All these, and many more, have been considered to be merely different readings of the same word; but upon close examination I think that three at least, namely, , , and , differ materially from the rest. It will be seen that the first has one stroke, the second two, and the third three strokes attached to it;

and I am inclined to suppose that these strokes referred to three ranks or grades in the order.

That the one stroke in the writing, , is not placed there to symmetrically balance the  upon the opposite side—the one other manner by which its presence may be accounted for—may be seen from the fact that the ugly word  is continually found upon the monuments; for which breach of custom there could be no excuse other than that of preventing confusion between it and the . An Egyptian scribe, who invariably inserted a stroke to balance an unsymmetrical word, would have done so in this case also, had he not had definite reason to do otherwise.



In the , the two strokes may be thought to correspond to the  in the writing , *Gemāti*. This, however, is not so, for the strokes are upright , and not vertical as in the letter : while in some cases I have noticed, the word *Is* is written , the two strokes slanting in a different direction to the rest of the inscription, in order, apparently, to distinguish them from the strokes of the . And in the writing , the strokes must either refer to the rank of the order, or else must be those signifying the plural. But on an ushabti box in the British Museum, to quote one instance, the original owner is thrice recorded as being a .




Thus it appears very probable indeed that three ranks existed in the order, under some such conditions as the following. The body of the choir consisted of the plain , so often seen upon the monuments. Above these were the picked singers in three ranks: the , *Gemāt I*, the , *Gemāt II*, and the , *Gemāt III*. These three ranks, however, do not appear to have ascended in superiority from the Third to the First; but it would seem that the numbers referred only to the positions taken up by the *Gemāt* in the temple. Perhaps the *Gemāt I* led the chants, and the *Gemāt II* and *III* caught up the refrain in turn, while the unnumbered chantresses performed the choruses. This, however, is mere conjecture.

Antiquities in the Museum of the Société Jersiaise.

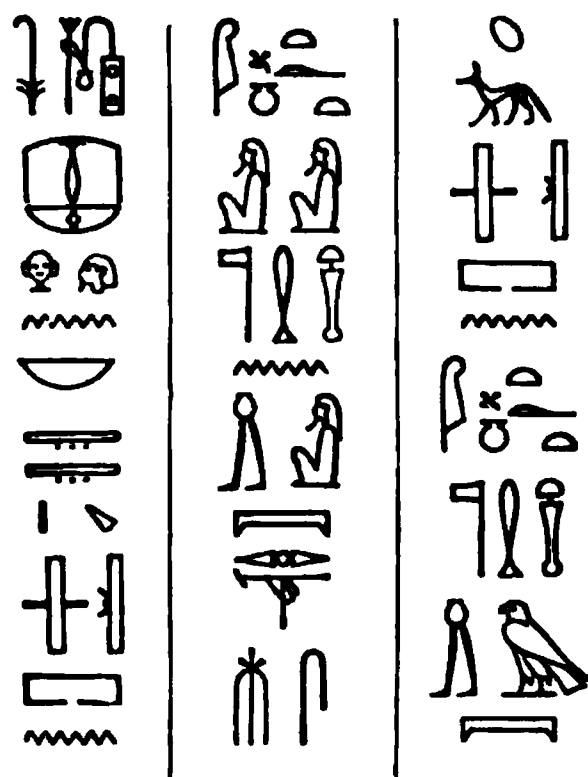
In the Museum of the Société Jersiaise, at St. Heliers, Jersey, a few Egyptian antiquities are exhibited. Among these I noticed a small dark alabaster pestle and mortar, belonging to a High Priest of Ptah, named Ptah-mes, which had been presented to the Society by Mr. P. Baudains. The mortar is a round, slightly hollowed dish, about six inches in diameter. It is five-eighths of an inch thick at the rim, decreasing to a quarter

of an inch towards the centre.

Upon the back is described perpendicularly   *sem ur kherp hemt Ptahmes*, "the *sem*- and *ur kherp hemt*-priest (the titles of the High Priest of Ptah) Ptah-mes."

The pestle is about five inches in length, and is very similar in shape to the modern pestle. Down the side the same titles  are inscribed, but the name of the owner is here written  *Mes*, instead of  *Ptah-mes*—a somewhat remarkable mistake on the part of the engraver.

From the style of the workmanship and cut of the hieroglyphs it is clear that it belonged originally to the famous Ptah-mes, who was the son of the High Priest under Amen-hetep III, and who is mentioned by Mr. Newberry in *Proceedings* of December, 1899, in his description of a stone jar in the possession of Mr. Walter L. Nash, F.S.A., on which the name of this Ptah-mes is inscribed. It may have come from a set of alabaster utensils made for the *Ka* of the deceased, and placed in his tomb.



*Seten Sesh kher heb dep ne neb tauu am per ne Shu Tefnet neter
hen dep ne Anheru Minmes se sab ami as ne Shu Tefnet neter hen
dep Anheru Heru.*

"The Royal Scribe ; the Chief Magician of the Lord of the two Lands ; the official of the Temple of Shu and Tefnet ; the High Priest of Anheru, Min-mes. Son of the Judge ; the official of the Temple of Shu and Tefnet ; the High Priest of Anheru, Heru."

A short perpendicular inscription upon the back of the figure gives the same in brief. Upon the right shoulder is inscribed the cartouche of Rameses II ; and thus we see that Min-mes occupied the very interesting position of Chief Magician to Rameses the Great.

With a little thought one finds that Min-mes is *either* an extremely important personage, *or* more or less unimportant, according to the point of view from which he is examined. To the archæologist he may be important as the adviser of Rameses, and to him may be attributed much of the glory of the period. And to the Biblical savant he may be of interest as the actual magician, or the predecessor of the magician, who competed against Moses and Aaron, when the two Hebrew leaders were urging the Pharaoh to release their countrymen from slavery. For Rameses II is usually considered to be the Pharaoh of the Oppression and the Exodus in that case took place soon after his death.

On the other hand, if Rameses II was not the oppressor of the Hebrews, and if the title *Kher heb hep ne neb tauu* is an extravagance, then Min-mes immediately sinks to the level of interest of his contemporaries. It is impossible to say more upon a subject which

Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., January, 1901.

Front. Doors closed.

Front. Doors open.

Back.

Right side.

Left side.

NAOS OF BAST.

IN THE COLLECTION OF COL. JOHN EVANS. FAIENCE. REAL SIZE.

builded upon such doubtful foundations. Nevertheless, the little statuette is certainly food for much thought.

A Small Porcelain Naos of Bast.

The plate gives five views of a small porcelain naos, in the possession of Col. John Evans, of Merle, Slinford, Horsham. It was obtained by him from an Arab named Hamid Smail (now deceased), and was exhibited some time ago at an Egyptian exhibition held by the Burlington Arts Club. The original blue glaze has now nearly vanished, but otherwise it is in good preservation. It is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and was apparently used as a pendant to a necklace or other piece of jewellery.

The naos is furnished with two doors which move upon hinges. When opened an inner shrine is revealed, containing a head of the goddess Bast. Nine uræi, and beneath them the usual winged disk, form the frontal ornamentation; the sides are decorated with the figures of Bast and Neith, and upon the back is represented a winged scarab. The naos has been examined by Prof. Petrie, and has been pronounced by him absolutely unique so far as he can tell.

I am indebted to Col. Evans for the photographs, and for his permission to publish an account of this remarkable object.


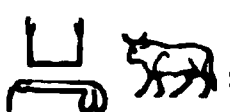
ARTHUR E. WEIGALL.



NOTES ON DEMOTIC PHILOLOGY: THE KHAMUAS STORIES.

BY F. LL. GRIFFITH.


In order to complete the edition of the "*Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*,"* I intend to publish special glossaries of the two demotic texts, together with a grammatical sketch, and I venture to hope that demotic and Coptic scholars will kindly aid in this by their criticisms on the volume already published. The following are among the most important corrections so far obtained from my own reading.

The name of the king who was the father of Neneferkaptah was really Mer-ka, not Mer-neb, as Brugsch and others read it, of which reading that given in the *Stories*,† *viz.*, Mer-neb-Ptah, is a mere variation. In the demotic of the Rhind bilingual papyrus the name Men-ka-Ra (Mencheres) is regularly spelt 𐤎𐤏𐤓𐤕𐤓 *Mne-k'-R'*, corresponding to  in the hieratic (see BRUGSCH, *Rh. Pap.*, group No. 127). Thus 𐤎𐤏 , the hitherto doubtful element in the king's name, is proved to correspond to 𐤎 . In the name of Nenefer-ka-Ptah a different group, namely that for *k'*, , "Bull,"‡ is used. In his

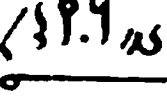
* This volume is referred to as *Khamuas*, *Kham.* in the notes.

† *Khamuas*, pp. 16, 108. The signs, which are here in reality determinatives, can also be read as "Ptah."




‡ The Bull of Ptah = Apis, *Kham.*, p. 16, note.

father's name we evidently have  *ka*, the "Double," or from one point of view, the Life-Energy (see *Hieroglyphs*, p. 15). Mer-ka might stand for Mer-ka-Ra, *i.e.*, either Mer-kau-Ra, a king of the XIIIth dynasty, or Ka-mery-Ra of the Xth dynasty. §

In the imperfect passage in I Kh., IV, 39, we have *wn n'y-n-s* = $\Pi\epsilon\ \Pi\Delta\ \Pi\text{O}\Upsilon\text{C}$, the past tense, "she was beautiful," $\Pi\Delta\ \Pi\text{O}\Upsilon\text{C}$ being spelt *n'y-n-f*. Preceding this expression is the group for *hb*, "festival," used either as a word or perhaps as a determinative. The sentence may be read, "There never was a woman of her festal-splendour (?), for she was beautiful, etc."

Another imperfect passage, I Kh., IV, 34, may read, "Hail King Darkness! God help thee King Light!" It is Ahure's cry when the magic power and light departed from the tomb as Setne carried off the book. The demotic of the last exclamation seems to be  *Hr sw-k* (cf. *Rh. bil.*, No. 216, for *sw*), *i.e.*, "Horus is thy binder" or "jailor," or "Horus be thy protector," and such may well be an expression used in taking a long or hopeless farewell, "Farewell for ever!"

The demotic name of Osiris should be throughout transliterated *Il's'r*, not *'S'r*, in accordance with the Coptic spelling $\text{O}\Upsilon\text{C}\Pi\epsilon$: $\text{O}\Upsilon\text{C}\Pi\epsilon\text{I}$. I Kh., V, 35 : *n t* is certainly late Eg. *m dr*, "after that." II Kh., II, 11 : *'w n yr.t* is "wealth," or "importance," comp. Boh. $\text{W}\text{O}\Upsilon\ \Pi\epsilon\text{I}\Delta\text{T}$. *Ib.* 23 : *s.ntr* is probably to be read *swt*. *Ib.* IV. 2 : *K-wr*, "Vice-roy (?)," should probably be *Wr*, "prince." On p. 150 of the publication, $\text{O}\Upsilon\text{C}\Pi\epsilon\text{T}$, T is of course a mistake for $\text{O}\Upsilon\text{C}\Pi\epsilon\text{T}$, Π .

In addition to a multitude of details that require to be improved or altered, the notes on the verb *'w*, "come" need to be largely rewritten. The verbs , Δ , are very anomalous in their use. The peculiar narrative past form of Δ , in demotic, *e-f 'w*, "he

§ The brother of Nenefer-ka-Ptah bears the late name (Deltaic period)

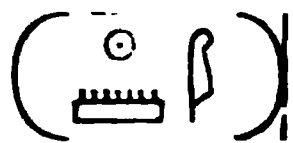


Art-Hor-ru, not *Anherru* as it has hitherto been read. Even Ka-mery-Ra is found in late times, as the name of an Ethiopian king.

Ancestors, which gives us the best list of the kings from Mena to his own reign ; where the young Rameses II is seen being instructed by his father in the glories of a great ancestry, and advised to act as becomes the representative of such a line of kings. Sety began more reconstruction than he lived to carry out, and his temples were finished by his son, Rameses II, but in an inferior style, the difference is apparent. Sety had prepared a magnificent tomb for himself, which is the finest of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, but his remains are not therein. His mummy is in the Cairo Museum ; it is the only royal mummy that is pleasing to look upon ; the fine features of the good man seem in repose, and with his arms crossed peacefully on his breast, he looks as if quietly asleep. His superb coffin is to be seen in London in the Soane Museum, it is carved out of one block of transparent alabaster, and richly sculptured within and without. At Abydos the portrait of Sety is seen offering a model of the goddess of Truth to the deity. Truth in fact was his watchword, and the figure of Maat is seen in his scarabs, and was actually made a part of his ruling name.

It seems a pity that this good man's coffin should not be restored to his splendid tomb at Thebes, and his fine mummy placed reverently in its beautiful alabaster sarcophagus once more.

251. SETY I, XIXTH DYNASTY (1327-1275 B.C.). His scarabs are not plentiful. This one is well cut, and bears his cartouche



with ornamental scrollwork under, which may have some hidden meaning. Ra · men · maat, "*Truth upholds Ra.*" Steatite scarab, colour gone.

252. SETY I Ra · men · maat Mer Ptah,

"*Beloved of Ptah,*" "*Ra firm in Truth,*" two titles of Sety.

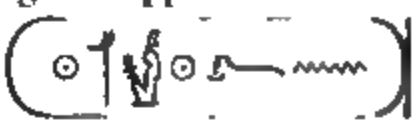
436. SETY I. Double "Ren" amulet men maat

Ra, and Sety mer n Ptah, "*Sety, beloved of Ptah.*" Lilac paste, inlaid green.

RAMESES II (the Great) was a very different man from his father, the gentle cultivated Sety. He did much building, but it is of a gaunt ostentatious type, very different from Sety's fine architecture. Enormous statues of himself and vain-glorious records of his great victories are most predominant. He even despoiled the ancient tombs of their treasures to pay for his wars, and laid the foundation for that jealousy of foreign nations, which was ultimately the ruin of his country, by provoking reprisals of outside enemies.


The scarabs of **RAMESES II**, the Great (1275-1208 B.C.), are not very common. In fact, these little "proofs of history" were getting out of fashion. People were growing less religious, perhaps, though the best statue we possess of Rameses II represents him in a most devout attitude, presenting a table of offerings to the gods of the great temple of ABYDOS. Instead of this, he was a destroyer. He pillaged the ancient shrines to erect vain memorials of himself, and Egypt never recovered from his rapacious extravagance. De Morgan, in his exploration of the royal tombs of the XIITH DYNASTY at Dahshur, found indubitable evidence that they had been systematically robbed of their treasures by the emissaries of Rameses II.

272. Blue pottery ring. Supplies us with the first cartouche of


RAMESSES II  Ra · user · Maa · setep
en Ra. "*Powerful is the truth of Ra.*" "*Chosen of Ra.*"

STATUE OF RAMESSES THE GREAT, FROM ABYDOS.
(*British Museum.*)


271, another blue pottery ring, gives us his second cartouche

, "*Rameses, beloved of Amen.*"

17 seems meant for Rameses II, but the inscription is blundered.

498. First cartouche of Rameses, as No. 272 above. Cynocephalus of Thoth on an altar, between the king and goddess MAAT, with extended wings,  underneath. Fine scarab.

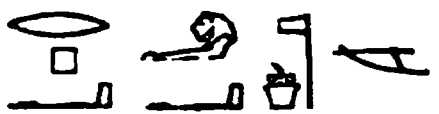

253. RAMESES II, "Ren" amulet, with the two cartouches of Rameses differing on each side, as on those above.

68. Scarab, with second cartouche, RAMESES II. Above, winged disc. Supporters—Uræus with Hathor and Isis head-dress, and  repeated.

258. NEFERT · ARY, wife of Rameses II, .


This was a royal princess, before her union with Ramses, and some have thought that she was the "Pharaoh's daughter" who found Moses, and adopting him for her son, sent him to the University of Heliopolis to learn "all the wisdom of the Egyptians."

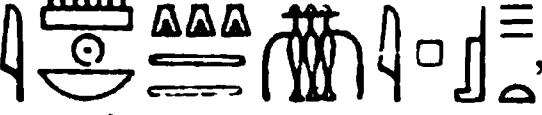
255. PASER, Vizier of RAMESES II. On one side royal cartouche of Rameses. On the other side, in two columns of writing,

 and , "*The Erpa, the Ha, beloved of the divine father, the governor of the city, the Wazir Paser.* See *Proceedings Bibl. Arch.*, *Mr. Newberry's Note*, Vol. XXII, p. 63.

Mr. Newberry tells of several steles and statues of this famous Minister. One statue is in the British Museum, and in the Louvre there is a small plaque very much resembling No. 255 above. His tomb is near Thebes.


429. The seal of a royal scribe, green pottery (?), part missing. Translation of inscription: "*Beloved of Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, true scribe.*"

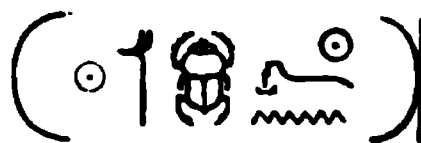
422 (possibly of time of AMENHOTEP I, cf. No. 32, Plate I). Hathor head in relief. On back two crowns of Lower Egypt, with , life, between.

260. The seal of the temple of Karnak. Burnt clay impression of a seal. This had been used to seal a door, the marks of the wood of which exist on the back. During a conflagration the clay impression of the signet has been converted into "terra-cotta." It is in the form of a cartouche, with plumes for crest. The impression below is quite clear: , "*Amen Ra, lord of the thrones of the two lands, within Ap · asut*" (Karnak).

RAMESES II reigned powerfully for nearly 70 years, but disastrously for Egypt. His conquests cost the country dear, and it never again rose to prominent or permanent prosperity. He left gigantic monuments of his victories, from Abu Simbel in Nubia, to Beyrout in Syria. Of all his many sons (he is said to have had 117) none were fit to maintain his power, and all his successors were unable to rule his vast dominions. After Rameses the Great, Egypt's greatness began to wane, and never again held its prominence among nations.

32. SETY II (1189-1184 B.C.) leaves a few marks of his short reign. This is a portion of an encaustic tile (blue ground) which I found in the ruins of Karnak, showing that he had worked there in adorning the temple.

259.  SETY II, a well-cut scarab with his throne title, "*Strong are the Forms of Ra,*" and "*chosen of Ra.*"

263. } Sety II, well cut scarabs  with much the
264. } same device.

343. Sety II  same as above, with the addition, "*Beloved of Amen.*"

261, 274. Devices of this period, resembling those of Sety II.

28, 29. Blue glazed plaques of QUEEN TAUSERT (1184-1181 B.C.), foundation deposits of her temple at Thebes, discovered by Dr. Petrie. Being a royal princess of late XVIIIth DYNASTY, she thus gave her husband, Siptah, right to reign. The inscription on No. 28 reads as follows:—" *Beloved of Amen, the daughter of Ra, TAUSERT, chosen of Maat.*"

226. Gold plate from the mounting of the scarab of a "royal son" of XVIIIth DYNASTY. *Sa seten Rua.*

The XXth DYNASTY began with Rameses III (1180-1148), who made wars in Syria, and with the spoils built the great temple of Medinet Habu, where his victories are recorded on the walls in a remarkable series of sculptures.

PLATE VII.

After the Ramesside periods scarabs become scarce, and for a time almost, it would seem, went out of use (XIXth-XXIst DYNASTY).

256. RAMESES V (1137-1133 B.C.) 

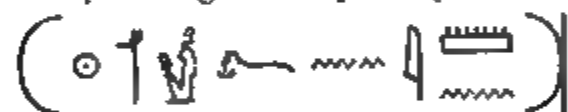
Rameses meri Amen, Amen her Kheph-f. Steatite, colour gone, roughly cut.

131. SIAMEN, XXIst DYNASTY. Not much is known of him, except that Dr. Petrie found his buildings at Tanis.

In the XXIIND DYNASTY a revival seems to have taken place under Shishanq, who is mentioned in the Bible, and Osorkon (about 910 B.C.) who built much at Bubastis.

262. OSORKON II (about 910 B.C.).

The builder of the great festival hall at Bubastis discovered by Mr. Naville (Egypt Exploration Fund.) The scarab is pale green pottery, with



Ra-user-maat setep en Amen.


83. OSORKON II 

(XXIIND DYNASTY) Ra-user-maat setep en Ra-Amen, "Strong in the truth of Ra, chosen of Amen." (?)

OSORKON.

From Maspero's "Passing of the Empires."—S.P.C.K.

A well cut scarab for the time. Colour gone.

162. Scarab of about this time, well cut  Khonsw em sa, "*Khonsu is protection.*"

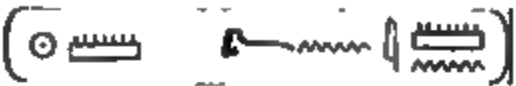
2. PIANKHY I. XXIVTH DYNASTY (about 780 B.C.).



Amen pa khred, and other symbols.



Piankhy was an Ethiopian, and conquered Egypt. A great stele recording his victories was erected by him at Gebel Barkal, in Nubia, giving names of all his generals, etc.

345. PIANKHY II. XXIVTH DYNASTY (594-589 B.C.)—


 Ra · men · kheper setep en.
Amen.

19. PIANKHY II. Cartouche  and 
"beloved of Amen."

279. PIMAI, Prince of Busiris, mentioned on Piankhy's stele.
This is a remarkable signet of a great prince or official, an historical personage of this time. There is another scarab of Pimai in University College.


 "The Erpa and Ha prince, priest of Osiris, lord of Busiris the very great, Pimai." A well cut scarab, colour gone.

SHABAKA, XXVTH DYNASTY (714-702 B.C.). This king came from Ethiopia, and his name is found on the temples of Karnak.


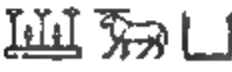

No. 205 is a very beautiful scarab, which shows there were still artists in Egypt. Its inscription is 
Ra nefer ka. It has its original sea-green colour.

367 is a pottery bead, with the *prenom* of SHABAKA


SHABAKA.
From Maspero's "Passing of the Empires."—S. P. C. K.


Mer Amen, Nefer Ka Ra,

"Beloved of Amen" ;  below, "living for ever."

368. Another pottery bead, with Shabaka's other cartouche, his *nomen*, above  Sa Ra, "Sun of the Sun," and the cartouche  Sha Ba Ka, and underneath  ankh zt, "Living for ever"


TAHARQA, XXVTH DYNASTY (690-664 B.C.).

54 is one of the gems of my collection, and is unique. It has all the perfection of form and execution of the best period, yet is one of the latest of royal scarabs. It contains two royal cartouches, Taharqa, of the XXVTH, and that of Piankhy of the XXIVTH DYNASTY, who was father, or father-in-law of TAHARQA. It is conjectured that Taharqa may not have been himself of the blood-royal, and he therefore places his wife's family title beside his own.  Sa Ra, "son

of the sun" () PIANKHI

and his own titles  seten

byt, "king of Upper and Lower

Egypt," () TAHARQA.

TAHARQA.


from Maspero's "Passing of the Empires."—S.P.C.K.

I got this fine scarab at Medinet Habu, on which temple there is a record that TAHARQA had restored part of it. Taharqa is mentioned in the Bible (II Kings, xix, 10) as the ally of Hezekiah against Sennacherib. He is there called Tirhakah the Ethiopian, and there is no doubt but his race came from the south, conquered the Egyptians, and embraced their religion and language.



287 and **128** are uncertain scarabs of this period.

TAHARQA.

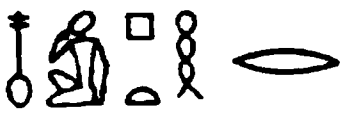

From Maspero's
"Passing of the Empires."
—S.P.C.K.

129.  "Shu son of Ra," ditto,
No. **98**, Ra Nefer, in cartouche,
winged uræus above.

413.   Sa Ra, Amen Ra, "son of the sun Amen Ra."

500. *Obv.* couchant sphinx, in front figure of goddess Maat, over the back,  Amen Ra. *Rev.* Amen Ra  neb, lord. Pottery.

361. Disc with uræi above. Inscription: "*Approved by Ptah and Maat, and by the good god*" (the king).

342. Fine scarab, green colour. Inscription:  , "*How beautiful is Ptah beyond every countenance in giving might.*"


474.   sa Amen Nefer, "*beautiful son of Amen.*"

363. An exquisitely cut flat bead, green colour. *Obv.*, in relief. Isis suckling Horus, background, a clump of papyrus. *Rev.*, intaglio. Inscription: "*Like the goddess who nurses Horus of the marshes.*" (Saïte period, and showing excellent work for such a late date, *cir.* 600 B.C.)

PLATE VIII.

GOOD WISHES, MOTTOES, &c.

The scarabs in the succeeding plates (VIII to XV) are not arranged in periods. Their dates can only be guessed at, according to the style of the work. Plate VIII exhibits scarabs mostly carrying mottoes or wishes for some auspicious occasion. Many of these seem to bear the marks of wear during the lives of their owners, perhaps they were worn as mementoes, and eventually buried with the dead, for all of them were undoubtedly found in tombs, or at least in mummy wrappings.


58. simply signifies "*Lord of truth and life,*" , Maat ankh neb.


270. "*There is a mother whose house feareth not.*"

109. "*Golden Horus beloved of Isis.*"

41. "*The gifts of the gods to kings.*"

490. "*Devoted to*"


374. *Obv.* God Khonsu seated, crowned with disc and crescent, and holding the *was* sceptre. *Rev.*  "*approved by Khonsu in Thebes*"; pottery, glazed turquoise colour.


268.  "A token from a journey to Thebes."

52. Inscription not translated yet.

510. "Devoted to Horus" (a beautiful little scarab).

492. "Chancellor of the Ha prince." The signet of a great official, beautifully cut in glazed steatite.

408.  "Good of plans." (Perhaps an architect.!? Very beautifully cut.)


89.  "abounding in graces." Very deeply cut as for a seal.)

269. "May thy name be established, mayst thou have a son."

446. "May thy name be established, mayst thou have a son" (almost identical with 269, but much better engraving).

178. "May thy name be established, mayst thou have a son" (almost identical with the above, but more ancient).


96, 4, 511, 366. "Amen Ra, lord." (Engraved in various styles.)


311.  "A real doer of what is pleasing to the gods."

502. Inscription similar on front to 269, on back "(May) Amen (grant) a good new year."

348. "The eye of Ra without fear." (A remarkable scarab, pierced through.)

316. "Khonsu as protection." (Very well cut, glazed steatite.)

468.  "Ra is behind (thee), there is no fear."

46.  within ornamental border, "good stability."

282.  "Beautiful Amen Ra, giving life."

410. Not translated yet.

455. Blue paste "(May) Amen (grant) a good new year."

275. (Inlaid) "a good day"—(a holiday).

276. Aw mwt nefer maat, "A mother is a truly good thing," or *Truth is a good mother.*

126. Ikht neb nefer. "All good things."


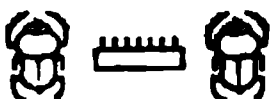

3. On back cynocephalus ape squatting (pottery) 
"praising Amen Ra."

PLATE IX: SYMBOLS SYMMETRICALLY ARRANGED.

This class of scarab came greatly into use in the MIDDLE KINGDOM (XI–XVIIIth DYNASTY). Some may really be cartouches of kings, or undiscovered royal names. No doubt special meanings were conveyed by these symmetrical arrangements of signs, which may be translated some day.

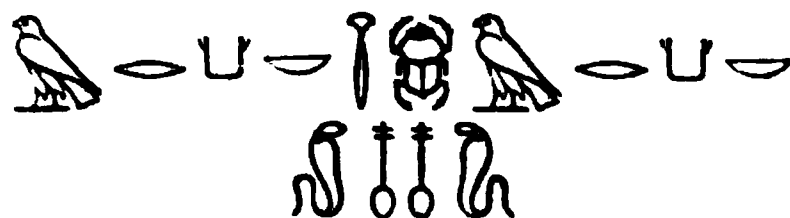
337.  *"Kheper men Kheper,"* with floral designs above and below.


428. Ornamental treatment  and crowns of Lower Egypt.


113. Ornamental treatment  XIIth DYNASTY.


394. Ornamental treatment .

403. Ornamental treatment. Possibly a royal cartouche—









419. Scarab; back peculiar; wings not folded. Arrangement of  and crowns of Lower Egypt; possibly a royal cartouche.

398. Symmetrical arrangement  and curious signs with crowns of Lower Egypt.

383. Symmetrical arrangement , may be a royal name. Green glazed, steatite.

201. Symmetrical arrangement , etc.

489. Pair of sacred eyes,  under each end,  between two  in cartouches,  and  below; may be a royal name. Well cut, steatite of unusual dark colour.

321. Plant of the North, below  *ankh dad was*; may be a royal name.




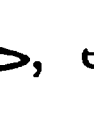



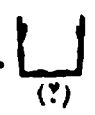





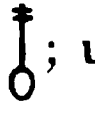










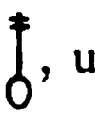



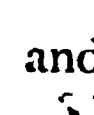



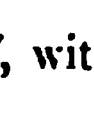
































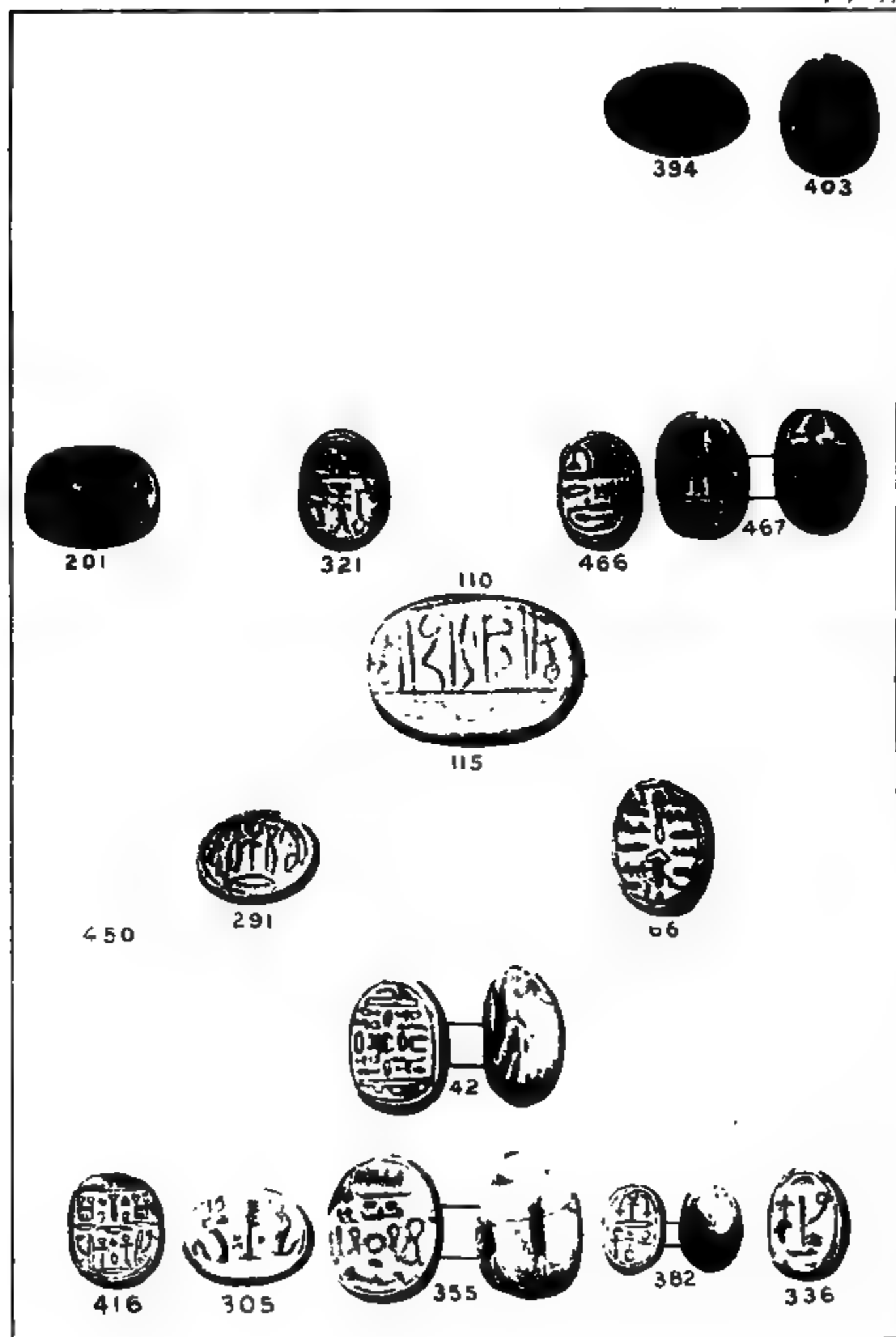
110. Symmetrical bordering of    , etc. around  ; unknown meaning.
466. Northern plants,    below ; well cut, green steatite.
467. Arrangement in three bands ;   repeated with two  in cartouches. Green tint, well cut steatite. Perhaps a royal name.
354. Royal cartouche (as yet unread). Sacred eyes, supporters of uræi.  and  above.
115. Inverted papyrus column between two feathers and  ; unread.
392. Royal cartouche RA EN RA (same cartouche is found on 421 and 433, Plates XI and XVI) ; arrangement of   repeated ; above and below cartouches of a king not yet "placed."
450. Mysterious design of hieroglyphics, unread, very old style.
291. Mysterious design, as yet unread. Cowroid.
396. Mysterious design of hieroglyphics, as yet unread, very peculiar.
66. Mysterious design, as yet unread, seems very old style.
20. In centre a royal cartouche, as yet unread, with border of   and crown of Lower Egypt.
326. Royal cartouche,  *sam* sign, with  over  at each side ; unread.
42. Extraordinary arrangement of signs, as yet unread.
464. Royal cartouche,  , with border of  and , unplaced.
416.  papyrus sceptre,  *nub* (gold)   and  symmetrically, and crowns of lower Egypt. Unread.
305.    *dad*, with crowned uræus on either side, unplaced.
355. Strange arrangement of hieroglyphs, unread,  on back.
382.    repeated symmetrically, well cut, unplaced.
336.    repeated.

PLATE X.

SYMBOLS SYMMETRICALLY ARRANGED (continued).

- 324.**  between crowns of Lower Egypt, same reversed above. Steatite.
- 435.** Symmetrical arrangement , &c. A pair of sacred eyes,  below, unread.
- 443.** Symmetrical arrangement , with sacred eyes,  &c., unread.
- 86.**  in centre, uræi at sides, and , unread.
- 462.** In centre   NEFER KA, two cartouches with  at each side,  underneath. (There were several kings so called.)
- 47.** In centre  nub, aquatic plants above,  in cartouche at each side. Unread.
- 117.** Water plants above, inverted papyrus sceptre below, between uræi. The back of this scarab is very remarkably decorated.
- 317.**  King of Lower Egypt (bytï)  gold, under  in cartouche at each side, unplaced. Steatite, blue, well cut.
- 454.**  Seten byti, ruler of Lower and Upper Egypt,  below  at sides, unread.
- 441.** Mysterious signs (Dr. Petrie says of VTH DYNASTY), half cylinder.
- 325.** Symmetrical arrangement of sacred eyes,  , &c., and water plants above and below, reversed, unread.
- 56.**  and  in centre, KHEPER NUB, with  and uræus at either side, unread.
- 285.** Sacred eye in relief on back, unread sign on front.
- 459.** Hawk with fruit. Water plants above.
- 73.** Bundle of water plants,  in centre.



Symmetrical Arrangements of Symbols

MIDDLE KINGDOM STYLE

Pl X



324



86



462



317



454



285



56



459



73



309



389



465



171



65



473



77



473



491

Symmetrical Arrangements of Symbols

MIDDLE KINGDOM STYLE

P/ λ/

114

2



471

433



385



208

106



116

497

11



121

496

477

223



411



415



60



283



Scrolls, Spiral Ornament Hieroglyphs &c

MIDDLE KINGDOM STYLE

Pl XII

335



352



130

92

85

380

48

457



458



448

57



420

503



461




























27



456

Scrolls. Spiral Ornament. Hieroglyphs &c

304.  in centre, papyrus sceptre above,  and  at each side.
386. "Sam" sign  in centre,  and  at each side,  below, unread.
309. Gazelle, sacred eye, plants of the north land, and  below, unread.
389. Bezil of a ring,  with plant symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt.
91.  *Ha prince*, with crown of Lower Egypt,  below, "Golden," and  at each side, unread as to his name.
430. Curious cartouche, containing   between two uræi. Below, the *sam* sign of union  with the plant emblems of Upper and Lower Egypt.
107. The *sam* sign  joined with the plants of Upper and Lower Egypt. Interlaced scroll below, of unknown meaning. Well cut steatite scarab.
391. Two hawks,  *life*, between. Two sacred eyes, beneath two  with . Unread.
171.  signifying ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt, . Unread.
- 439 resembles No. 107, but two crowns of Lower Egypt, reversed, below.
29. Another arrangement of signs denoting union of the two lands.
465. Between two crowns of Lower Egypt , above  hotep, "offering," below  neb, "lord."
65. Group of water plants of Lower Egypt,  above and below.
473. *Obv.* Hawk with flail, crowned with diadem of Lower Egypt.
- Rev.* Design of water plants, perhaps a monogram of signs.

491. *Sam* symbol in centre, united by plant symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt.

PLATE XI.

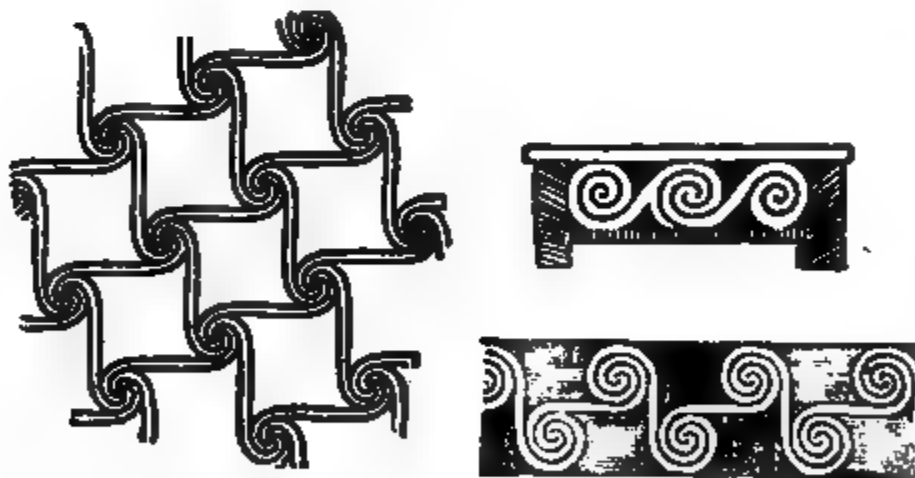
SCROLLS, SPIRAL ORNAMENTS, HIEROGLYPHS, &c.

In the early Middle Kingdom (VIth DYNASTY) scarabs with symmetrical designs are first found (Plates IX and X), and continue for some centuries. Gradually we begin to see scroll ornament appear, with or without symbols, and culminating in intricate patterns of ingenious and beautiful combinations. In Dr. Petrie's most interesting little work, "EGYPTIAN DECORATIVE ART" (*Methuen & Co.*), these mysterious scroll-works are shown to be the very beginnings of ornamental design, the earliest attempts at art of the kind, either by



Examples from Dr. Petrie's work, showing the gradual development of scroll ornament.

Egypt or any other ancient nation. This is proved, and its gradual development traced, and its culmination is shown in the beautiful ceiling and mural decoration and woven patterns, embroidery, engraving, and painted pottery, also wood carving of later Egyptian Art.



Development of the scrolls on scarabs into decorative ornament, of XIIIth Dynasty: from Dr. Petrie's work.

(To be continued.)

PLATE I.

Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., January, 1901.

AMEN-RA.

FROM A PLASTER CAST OF THE BRONZE FIGURE
IN THE LIVERPOOL MUSEUM. HEIGHT, 8 IN.



AMEN-RA. (FULL SIZE.)
BRONZE FIGURE IN THE COLLECTION OF F. G. HILTON PRICH, ESQ., D.R.S.A.

NOTES UPON A RARE FIGURE OF AMEN-RĀ.

By F. G. HILTON PRICE.

Upwards of half a century ago, a very curious figure of Amen-Rā was found in Egypt, and was acquired by Mr. Joseph Mayer of Liverpool, and was given by him, together with all his collections, to the Liverpool Free Public Library and Museum in 1867. This figure is thus described in the catalogue of the Museum :—

“Amen-Rā (fig. 1)*; bronze figure; unique type, representing Amen-Rā with the head of the god Bes; walking; in the right hand holding a mace up to his conical cap; round the pedestal a dedication by Nasptah, son of Unemuamen, his mother's name Peneter; time of Shishank, B.C. 970. H. 8 in.”

Up to this time this figure has remained unique, and notwithstanding all the numerous excavations which have been carried on in every part of Egypt during the past fifty years, no such figure has been recorded as having been found. Now I wish to place upon record the discovery of another example of this very rare and hitherto unique figure, which came into my possession last year, it having been found in the neighbourhood of Thebes. It bears the head of Bes, and would decidedly be considered a type of that god, were it not for the similar figure in the Museum of Liverpool bearing upon its pedestal a dedicatory inscription to Amen-Rā; thus we may assume that this figure is also a form of the god Amen-Rā.†

The description is as follows :—

Bronze figure in the attitude of walking, with left leg advanced, having the head of Bes, wearing a conical reeded cap, raising his right arm, in which he holds a mace at right angles across his cap, his left arm is bent at the elbow and the hand is broken off; in this respect it differs from the Liverpool Museum figure, inasmuch as the left arm in that figure is pendent. He wears a tunic round his loins, which appears to be supported by shoulder-straps, which cross the breast and back; this latter does not exist in the Liverpool example. H. 3½ inches.

* Fig. 1, a photograph from the cast.

† See fig. 2, three views.

The original specimen was considered by the late Dr. Birch to belong to the period of the XXIInd dynasty, and I have no reason to dissent from his opinion, and therefore date my specimen as belonging to that epoch.

My best thanks are due to Mr. W. I. Nash, F.S.A., for the excellent photographs he has kindly made for illustrations to these notes.

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE "PAIR OF SHOES,"
in Amos ii, 6.

..... ואביון בעבור נעלים :

LXX. Καὶ πένηται ἕνεκεν ὑποδημάτων.

BY REV. W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

Two interpretations of this phrase have been put forward :

- i. "For the sake of," *i.e.*, because the poor man has put himself under an obligation for the sake of a pair of shoes.
- ii. "For the sake of," *i.e.*, "for the price of" a pair of shoes, meaning, for some trifle.

In support of this latter (בעבור = "for the price of," "in exchange for") we have the ב pretii in the parallel clause (בכסף). This would seem to be decisive for the sense of בעבור in this passage.

But "for the price of," in the sense of "in exchange for," a pair of shoes, may, and probably does, mean something much more than "for the sake of a mere trifle." Why should the prophet have selected *a pair of shoes* in this connection? In order to answer this question properly, the use of the *shoe* (sandal) as a conventional symbol in legal transactions, ought to be understood. To *cast the shoe over* anything signified taking possession, *e.g.*, of land; and to take it off and give it up was a symbol of renunciation of rights and possession; *cf.* Ruth iv, 7. *Now this was the custom*

in former time in Israel concerning redeeming and concerning exchanging, for to confirm all things : a man drew off his shoe, and gave it to his neighbour, and this was the manner of attestation in Israel. In all probability the same custom is alluded to in Ps. lx, 10, where the phrase, *Over Edom will I cast my shoe*, is a metaphorical way of saying, "I will plant my foot upon Edom," *i.e.*, take possession of it.

The passage which is being considered in Amos, may, then, mean that the needy are wronged by the oppressor in order that the latter may secure, not merely a worthless pair of shoes or their trifling intrinsic value, but the *property* of which the pair of shoes was the symbol, and the possession of this property would be formally renounced by the poor man by the giving of the shoes ; he, *i.e.*, "his little plot of land," was sold by means of this symbolic action.

It should be remembered that during the period of Amos' prophetic activity, oppression of the poor by the rich was rife, and often took the form of "land-grabbing ;" compare the striking denunciation of this sin by a younger contemporary of Amos, namely Isaiah : *Woe to them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell alone in the midst of the land* (v, 8). The age was a commercial one and developed the characteristic vices of commercial civilisation. There was a vast growth of urban, at the expense of rural, life : great wealth and great poverty stood side by side ; bribery and corruption were rampant, and as is always the case under such conditions, the poor were oppressed and robbed. Prof. G. A. Smith says, that the age of Amos may be described as, in these respects, "very modern." *

A striking present-day parallel of this may help to illustrate the picture drawn above. In some provinces of Austria † the peasant proprietor is constantly victimized by the small but unscrupulous Jewish capitalist of the baser type. The mode of procedure is fairly simple : the peasant owns a small farm with about twenty acres of land, which he cultivates, and which affords him his sole means of subsistence. In almost every case the Jewish trader owns the sole shop of which the village can boast, and he uses this to dangle before the eyes of the simple peasant many unnecessary luxuries ; these he tempts his victim to buy on credit—on the

* *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, Vol. I, p. 41.

† I refer more especially to Bohemia.

security, first of all, of the next harvest, and in the last resort, of the property. After the lapse of a few years, during which the peasant's indebtedness has gone on increasing, the creditor eventually enters into possession of the property; the peasant, now homeless and ruined, migrates to swell the congested district of some big town.

No doubt other modes of oppression and extortion have been employed in other periods, and we must always make allowance for special conditions of time and place; but, underlying all, there is a strong family-likeness which is unmistakeable.

On this interpretation, it is necessary to understand the expression "sell" (in the verse under consideration) in a metaphorical sense, "betray" or "ruin;" so also in the parallel passage, Amos viii, 6, "bye" (קָנָה) must mean, "to secure control of," "get into one's power." In both cases it is necessary to suppose that the "pair of shoes" is the object which the oppressor is aiming to secure (because of the symbolical significance), not the means employed by him to "sell" or "buy" the poor man. He sells the poor man in order that (*cf.* LXX, *ἔνεκα*) he may secure the poor man's "shoes," and thus get control of his little patrimony.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday, the 13th February, 1901, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

THEO. G. PINCHES: "Assyriological Gleanings, with some references to Babylonian Magic."

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-FIRST SESSION, 1901.

VOLUME XXIII.

Second Meeting, 13th February, 1901.

REV. A. LÖWY, LL.D., ETC.,

IN THE CHAIR.

From the Author :—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Della stela del Foro e della sua Iscrizione Arcaica. *Civiltà Cattolica*. January, 1901.

From F. Legge : Encyclopædia Biblica. Edited by Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M.A., D.D., and J. Sutherland Black, M.A., LL.D. Vol. I, A to D, 1899 ; Vol. II, E to K. 8vo. London. 1901.

From Joseph Pollard : The Temple of Mut in Asher. By Margaret Benson and Janet Gourlay. The inscriptions and translations by Percy E. Newberry. 8vo. London. 1899.

From Dr. J. Hall Gladstone : Gold used by the Ancient Egyptians. *Chemical News*, Vol. LXXXIII, No. 2140. January 11th, 1901.

The following Library was elected a subscriber :—
The Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue.

The following Paper was read :—

THEO. G. PINCHES: "Assyriological Gleanings, with some references to Babylonian Magic."

Remarks were added by Miss Ingram, Sir H. H. Howorth, Dr. Gaster, Rev. James Marshall, M.A., Mr. Pinches, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this communication.



THE NAMES OF DEMONS IN THE MAGIC PAPYRI.

BY F. LEGGE.

[*Abstract of a Paper read before the Society at the December Meeting, 1900.*]

Description of Papyri.

The Papyri referred to in this paper are :—

- (1) Papyri V. and W. of Leyden published by Leemans in *Papyri Græci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi*, Vol. II (Leyden, 1885).
- (2) Papyri 1 and 2 of Berlin, published by Parthey as *Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museum* in the *Abhandlungen der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1865.
- (3) The Great Magic Papyrus of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, published by Dr. Carl Wessely in his *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* (Vienna, 1888).
- (4) The Papyrus Mimaout (No. 2391) of the Louvre, published by Dr. Wessely in the last-mentioned book.
- (5) Papyri XLVI, XLVII, CXXI, CXXII, CXXIII, CXXIV, and CXXV of the British Museum, all published by Dr. Kenyon in his *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* (London, 1893).

These Papyri have much in common. They are all written in Greek letters, though in the Papyrus of the Bibliothèque Nationale some attempt at Coptic is introduced. The characters are in every case uncial, with the exception of B.M. CXXIV and CXXV, which Dr. Kenyon describes as "semi-cursive." They are all composed of spells or recipes for magical processes, jumbled together without order or connection, many of which have evidently been translated out of some other language. They are, with hardly an exception, adorned with extremely rough and inartistic sketches which answer the

purpose of the diagrams in a modern scientific book, and from the marks of wear that they show, have evidently been at some time or another in daily use. As all those whose provenance I have been able to trace, that is to say, the Papyri of Leyden, of Berlin, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and Nos. XLVI and XLVII of the British Museum, were purchased in Thebes, there seems abundant reason for Dr. Wessely's conclusion that they once formed part of the same library,* while it is possible that they were the property of a professional magician. Their dates have been fixed on palæographical grounds by Dr. Wessely and Dr. Kenyon as ranging from the 2nd to the 5th century of our era, and the limits here given are fairly established otherwise, by the fact that while most of the papyri mention the name of Jesus along with that of many Pagan divinities, there is no allusion in any of them to the name of Mahomet.†

Introductory.

[The writer prefaced his paper by some remarks on magic, which he defined as "the attempt to compel the spiritual world," and thus distinguished from religion, which has as object its conciliation. He sought to show that among all partly-civilised peoples this attempt resolves itself into threats or commands addressed to the spirits with certain formalities which in course of time become ritual, and that this was particularly the case with the Egyptians, who in all ages laid so much stress upon the proper pronunciation of the words in their religious and magical rites, that they thought the greatest blessing the dead could obtain in the next world was to be made *ma-cheru* or *true of voice*.‡]

Importance of Names in Egyptian Magic.

But this correctness of enunciation was not only the only requisite in Egyptian magic. It was thought to be at least as important that the spirit to be coerced should be called by his

* Griechische Zauberpapyrus, p. 12.

† The Papyrus of the Bibliothèque Nationale must be later than 138 A.D., for it contains a spell for procuring dreams said to have been taught by "Pachrates, the prophet of Heliopolis," to the Emperor Hadrian.

‡ M. Maspero's memoir, "Sur l'Expression Mâ-Khrôou," seems to be still the best authority on this. Cf. Prof. Piehl in *Sphinx*, Vol. III, p. 112.

proper and exact name. The importance of the name in Egypt has lately received such full attention from M. Lefébure,* that I need not here call attention to it at any length. It may be enough to remind the Society that in the Book of the Dead, the importance of knowing the names, not only of the spirits, but of all the animate and inanimate objects that the dead will meet with in the other world, is insisted upon in nearly every one of the later chapters. "If any god whatsoever should advance unto me," prays the deceased, "let me be able to proclaim his name forthwith." "My soul cometh and it speaketh with its father," he says again, "and the mighty one delivereth it from these eight crocodiles. I know them by their names." † And again, "Hail thou lotus, thou type of the god Nefer-Tmu! I am the man that knoweth you, and I know your names among the gods" §—the idea of course being that by knowing the names of these spirits, he is able to command them. So on entering the Bark of Ra, every part of the boat—rudder, rope, sail, paddles, down to the rowlocks, as well as the wind, the river, and its banks question him as to their respective names, and he has to give them before he is allowed to embark. || And so on his entry into the Hall of the Two Truths, after giving the name of the presiding judge and his forty-two assessors, he is stopped by the door itself. "We will not let thee enter in through us," say the bolts of the door, "unless thou tellest us our names," and the same formula is used by the threshold, the floor, and every part of the Hall, until at last he has to give the name of the door-keeper, and so is admitted. ¶ And if we want an instance of how this idea persisted down to the Christian centuries in which our papyri were written, we find one in the *Τεύχεα Σωτηρίας*, where it is said by Jesus Himself, that if the soul, who is being tormented in Outer Darkness, remembers to utter but one of the twelve names of this Outer Darkness (which is represented as a great dragon), the Outer Darkness shall literally vomit him forth, and he will be caught up by angels and taken to a

* *Melusine*, t. VIII, p. 226 *sqq.* Cf. Wiedemann, "Livre des Morts," Louvain, 1896, p. 52.

† Chap. XXV. The translation here quoted is that by Dr. Budge (London, 1898).

‡ Chap. XXXII.

Chap. LXXXI B.

|| Chap. XCIX.

¶ Chap. CXXV.

place of purification.* It was doubtless because of this extreme importance of the name, that the Egyptian magicians were in the habit of writing the names of the spirits they were conjuring, backwards, forwards, and even anagrammatically, so that if they had made a mistake in the order of the letters in one instance, there should be at least a chance that it might be corrected in another.†

Why Spells addressed to Demons.

It remains to be said why these spells should be addressed, as nearly the whole of them are, not to good spirits, but to demons in the modern sense of the word, *i.e.*, to spirits who are essentially and irredeemably evil. This is the more surprising at first sight, because our papyri are written in Greek, and the Greeks did not at any time believe in the existence of spiritual beings who were bad in their nature.‡ This trait has been thought by some to be peculiar to the Greek character, but I believe it will be found on investigation that the same thing may be said for the Pharaonic Egyptians,§ and for those Semitic peoples who preserved unmixed the faith of their nomad ancestors. The nation among whom we first find clearly avowed the belief in an organized kingdom of evil spirits, confronting on

* *Pistis Sophia*, p. 332 sq. (Copt.). Although in the MS. that goes by that name, the passage in question forms part not of the *Pistis Sophia*, but of another treatise, extracts from which are added to it. For the later date of this last, see "Some Heretic Gospels" in *Scottish Review* for July, 1893.

† Thus, in the *Τεύχια Σωτήρος* (p. 357 Copt.), we find an invocation by Jesus to His Father beginning *ψινωθερ, θειρινωψ, νοψιθερ*. The same phrase appears in the Papyrus of the Bibliothèque Nationale (l. 828, Wessely) as *ψινωθερνωψιθερθερνωψι*. The last six syllables are in each case but an attempt to write anagrammatically the three first, which can in their turn be easily decomposed into *Psi* and *nóter*. *Psi* is a word, according to M. Revillout (*Revue Egyptologique*, t. VI, p. 24, and t. VII, p. 29, sqq.), repeatedly found in the bilingual Demotic-Greek papyri, and means "highest" or "sublime," being an epithet frequently applied to divinities such as Thoth. *Nóter* appears to be merely the common Egyptian word *𓂏* which M. Maspero transliterates *nótir*.

‡ So Euripides ("Iphigeneia in Tauris," ll. 390, 391), *οὐδένα γὰρ οἶμαι δαιμόνων εἶναι κακόν*. Cf. Menander (Meineke Frag. XVIII), *Κακὸν γὰρ δαίμον οὐ νομιστίον*.

§ The fact that the "Satans" mentioned in the lives of the Egyptian saints as tempters are merry and mischievous elves or fairies, rather than implacable enemies of God and man, has been repeatedly noticed. Nor do even the Afrits and wicked genii of Arabian tradition seem inspired with the malignity of the fiends of mediæval Europe.

nearly equal terms that of the good, is the Persian, although it seems likely that further investigations will show that in this also, the Persians borrowed largely from their Babylonian predecessors.* But Alexander's conquest, besides making communication easier between Europe and Asia, and even providing both continents with a common language in the shape of Greek, also broke up the priestly corporations which had from time immemorial succeeded each other in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and these wandering sectaries and their pupils were set free to propagate their superstitions in every large town of the Roman Empire.† Hence it was that at the beginning of our Era, the dread of the powers of hell and their witchcraft had taken possession of the whole civilised world,‡ and the "fear of demons" [δεισιδαιμονία], which in the time of Theophrastus and Plato had been looked upon as a reproach, was now regarded as a piece of ordinary prudence. Especially was this the case among those given to curious arts, for they looked upon all disease as the result of demonic persecution, and the casting out of devils make up three-fourths of the magic rites of the period. Apart from this, too, there was a special reason why an Egyptian magician, as we have supposed the collector of these spells to be, should address himself to the demons rather than to the gods. It is admitted by Iamblichus, in the treatise which he wrote under the name of an imaginary Egyptian priest Abamnon in answer to the real or supposed charges of Porphyry, that the Egyptian magicians did indeed address threats to the lower spirits, assuming for that purpose the names of the higher gods. Of this practice, there are many instances in these papyri.§ But what spirits were so likely to

* Babylonia seems to have been the home of dualism, and there are some signs that the god Bel was in early times looked upon as the enemy of man. Perhaps such a state of belief must always arise when two races, each endowed with a different religion, contend for the mastery. Thus, at the time of the German Reformation, while the Teutonic Reformers denounced the Pope as Antichrist, the Latin Catholics retorted that the Lutherans were literally "worshippers of devils."

† Witness the names given to these wandering charlatans in the time of the Roman Empire, such as "Magi" and "Chaldæi."

‡ Cf. *Minucius Felix*, Cap. XXXV.

§ E.g. "I am he who sitteth in Pelusium" (i.e. Osiris), B.M. Papyrus II. 498 and 499. "I am that Osiris whom Set murdered," Berlin Papyrus I "I am the Truth (qy. Maât), who hates that injustice should come into the

be influenced by the threats, and even to tremble at the very name of the superior deities, as those demons who as the enemies of good had already felt their power, and had actually, as the magicians thought, been cast down and imprisoned in chaos by them? According to the *Τείχεα Σωτήρος*, the mere utterance of the "Great Name" of God was sufficient to make the demons fall on their faces and acknowledge the sanctity of the utterer.*

The Names.

Coming at last to the names themselves, we find that they divide pretty naturally into two classes, viz., names which were once those of gods, and names which were not. First in the first category must be placed the great brother and adversary of Osiris, here mostly designated by his Greek name of Typhon. We know, however, that this is the same person as the Set worshipped under the Old Empire, because this last name is very often coupled with the Typhonic one.† But this Set has fallen utterly from the state that he enjoyed under the Hyksos kings and the Restoration, and is simply the enemy of gods and men. He is always spoken of as the hater of established order, who would, if he could, reduce the earth to chaos. In one of these spells he is greeted with the epithets, "hill-shaker, thunderer, hurricane,‡ rock-shaker, destroyer, who disturbs the very sea itself," and the magician thinks it necessary to remind him, that he himself like Set has "uprooted the whole cosmos and has fought against the gods." In another place, he is called the "fearful, dreadful, and horrible being," and is threatened that if he does not do what the magician orders, he will be handed over to "the Great God," who will tear him limb from limb, and give his powers to a mangy dog sitting on a dunghill to

I am he who thunders and lightens. I am he whose sweat falls in the shape of rain upon the earth that it may bring forth. I am he whose mouth sets the universe on fire. I am he who engenders and brings forth. I am the grace of the Æon." B.M. Papyrus XLVI, l. 150.

* *Pistis Sophia*, p. 379 (Copt.).

† Whatever may have been its pronunciation in Pharaonic times, it is plain that at the date of our papyri the name was pronounced Seēt. While the Berlin Papyrus transliterates this by *Σητ*, the others generally write the name *Σηθ*. In one case, the scribe is so anxious that there should be no mistake as to the length of the vowel, that we have *Σηϊθ*. (Leyden Papyrus V, col. 4a, l. 32.)

‡ *λαυλαπιρός*. Cf. the modern sailor's phrase, "As busy as the devil in a gale of wind."

eat.* In another, which is a spell to separate husband and wife, he is appropriately called "the terrible god who shakes the earth and the ordered world, who loves quarrels and hates that which is established, and causes the very clouds to separate from each other." And in all these cases, his habitation is in keeping with his character. He is the "lord of Darkness," "the king who is set over the unquenched fire and smoke," and "the dweller in the pit."† One would like to know how far the memory of these epithets survived in the mediæval ideas of Satan and the infernal regions.

Among other heathen deities who are here degraded into devils, one expects to find the Greek Hades or Pluto, and his spouse Persephone, because both are mentioned (as is also Typhon‡) as devils in the *Τεύχεα Σωτήρος*. But it is not so, and although both Hades and his spouse are often invoked in these papyri, it is always as gods and not devils, a fact which perhaps argues for the early date of the spells.§ The name of *Moloch*, the sanguinary god, to whom the Carthaginians, like their cousins the Phœnicians and the apostate Jews, used to sacrifice their children, is, however, once mentioned in a context which leaves little doubt that he also was considered a devil.|| The name of Satan is also given in the same connexion,¶ as also in a spell to which I have before drawn the attention of the Society, although in this latter case it seems to be used more generically than specifically. There is also the curious name *Maskelli*, which we know from the same document to be the name of a ruler or prince among the devils. It appears very frequently both in the two Paris papyri and in those of the British Museum, sometimes in the form of *Μασκελλιμασκελλω*, and at others

* Leyden Pap. V, col. 5a, l. 1 *sqq.* The "great god" usually means Osiris or Serapis.

† Papyrus of Bibl. Nat., ll. 267 *sqq.*

‡ Typhon, who is there called *παρεδρων* (assessor?), is represented as the demon who tempts to sins of the flesh. *Pistis Sophia*, p. 369 (Copt.).

§ A long formula, common to nearly all these papyri, contains, among many unintelligible epithets of Persephone, the word *επισχιγαλ*, which, as I mentioned in the March *Proceedings*, is plainly the Sumerian *Eris-ki-gal*, *i.e.*, "Lady of the lower world."

|| B.M. Papyrus, CXXI, l. 418.

¶ Papyrus of Bibl. Nat., l. 390. It is here written *σαταμα*. But the change of *ν* into *μ* in Coptic is frequent (*v.* Griffiths, "Tales of the High Priests of Memphis," p. 4), and this Papyrus, as I have said above, shows many remains of Coptic words.

as I have written it above, in which last case it is always followed by the abbreviation λ which seems to stand for $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\tau$. But I am unable to offer any explanation to its meaning or probable derivation.*

Lastly, we come to a name which offers a very curious problem for solution. It will be remembered that in the New Testament the chief or "ruler"† of the devils is said to be not Satan, but Beelzebub, who curiously enough is not mentioned anywhere but in the gospels, and then only with this qualification. The spelling of the final syllable is by no means certain, as the older codices give the names as Βεελζεβοὺλ , which I see Canon Cheyne in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* considers the better spelling, and this is supported by the Coptic MSS., which give the name Βεελζεβοϣηλ .‡ It should be noticed also that in the mediæval *grimoires*, in which also this demon is represented as holding the highest place in the infernal hierarchy, and as the superior of Satan, his name is given as neither *Beelzebub* nor *Beelzebubul*, but as *Beelzebuth*. Some modification of this name I therefore expected to find in these papyri, nor was I disappointed. For although the first two syllables Βεελ nowhere appears in them, we do find a name *Jabezebuth* (Ιαβεζεβυθ) appearing in a connection which shows it to be that of an evil spirit.§ Thus in one passage in the Papyrus of the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Jabezebuth* is described as the "begetter of night," and "he who appears in the night" (or darkness). In one of the British Museum papyri, also, it is given among a string of names which include Moloch and Maskelli;|| and it

* The Τεύχεια Σωτηρος (p. 370, Copt.) speaks of a *good* spirit named Ζαραζαζ (evidently a name formed cabalistically), "whom the rulers [of the demons] call by the name of a male ruler of their own, Μασκελλι ." I have sometimes thought I could see in the two final syllables some reminiscence of the Coptic ⲉⲗⲗⲟ = ancient, and that the long form of the name might be a compound like the Zulu *Unkulunkulu* = old, old one.

† Ἀρχων . The same word is used in the Τεύχεια Σωτηρος so exclusively in a bad sense that at last ἄρχων comes to mean, as in the last quotation, "prince of devils" simply.

‡ The earliest commentators tried to equate this name with the Baalzebub, god of Ekron, to whom Ahaziah sent in his sickness (I.K. i, 2, 36). But no plausible reason has been suggested why a Philistine deity, only once mentioned in Jewish tradition, should at the beginning of our Era be suddenly raised to the place of chief opponent of Jehovah, and I can only suppose that in this passage also the name Baalzebub has been inserted instead of that of some Zeus or Helios.

§ Papyrus of Bibl. Nationale, l. 1798.

|| B.M. Pap. CXXI, ll. 425-427.

has been found upon one of the leaden plates by which it was thought the enemies of the inscriber could be handed over to the demons.* But the *Jabe*, which makes up the first half of this name, is nothing else but the Samaritan way of writing the Tetragrammaton, usually transliterated in English as Jehovah, or Yahwé. Now it is known that some of the stricter Jews of the Diaspora had such an objection to any name which reminded them of Baal, that they substituted for it in compound names either the word *Bosheth* (בושת), "shame," as in Mephibosheth for Meribaal, or the divine name El, as where Baalhanan and Baaliada are transformed into Elhanan and Eliada. The most obvious explanation of the word Jabezeth, and the one which will doubtless most commend itself to the majority, is, therefore, that it is really the Beelzebub, or rather Beelzebuth, of the Gospels, with a substituted word used for the sake of euphemism instead of the obnoxious name. But the Tetragrammaton was considered by all post-Exilic Jews to be much too holy a thing to be lightly used, and I can find no other instance of it entering into any other name of the kind at this period. Moreover, the compilers of these spells were perfectly well acquainted with its proper transliteration, which is here always given as *Iaw*, and there seems no reason why they should deliberately adopt here the schismatic form of *αβε*.† Again, the latter half of the word has a curious light cast upon it by some of the variants to be found in other parts of these papyri, where the scribe, feeling after his manner for the orthography of a word unfamiliar to him, writes the name of "Jehovah of hosts" sometimes *βαιβειζωθ*, a manifest anagram, sometimes *ιαβαβαθαβawθ σαβawθ*, and sometimes *ιβωσαβawθ*. It seems, therefore, possible that in this name of *Iαβεζεβυθ*, the magician may have been trying to write the words Yahwé Sabaoth (יהוה צבאות) in the Samaritan manner, and I can in that case only account for its occurrence as a diabolic instead of a divine name, by supposing that the fanatical Jews carried their hatred of their Samaritan cousins so far, as to describe their supreme deity as the chief of the devils. Whether the same idea does not underlay the denunciation in Matthew x, 25, of those who τὸν οἰκοῦσπότην Βεελζεβούλ ἐπεκάλεσαν, I leave to the Higher Critics to determine.

* G. Henzen, *Iscrizione Greco sopra una lamina di piombo*. Ann. dell' Inst. di corr. Arch., t. xviii, pp. 205 sqq.

† That this form of the Tetragrammaton was peculiar to the Samaritans, see Joseph Halévy, *Le Tetragramme*. Rev. des Études Juives, IX, p. 162.

QUELQUES LETTRES ASSYRIENNES

PAR A. J. DELATTRE, S.J.

(Suite Vol. XXII, Part 8.)

V

K. 615.—Harper, 258

NABU-UŠALLIM AU ROI DE NINIVE

Écriture babylonienne.

On propose au roi un moyen d'assurer la soumission des habitants de la région marécageuse de la Babylonie.

RECTO




1. *A-na šar šarrâni bîli-ia*
2. *arad-ka (h.) Nabu-u-šal-lim*
3. *(d.) Aššur (d.) Šamaš û. (d.) Marduk šu-lum*
4. *ša šarri bîli-i liš'-a-lu*
5. *niši šu-nu ina ap-pa-ri*
6. *amil ba-ši-ti(hi?)-i gab-bu-šu-nu-tu*
7. *ina umu(-mu + 𐎶𐎵𐎶) ša Šamaš-ib-ni*
8. *mišil-šu-nu amil kin-na-a-ta*
9. *ki-i iḫ-li-ku-'*
10. *ina Bit-A-muk-kan-na li-ta-šab-'u*
11. *ul-i(?)-iṣ ma-ta-ti*
12. *aḫi-šu-nu a(?)-na pa-ni-ni*
13. *ul i-gar-t-u-ni*
14. *šu-nu šu-nu ša mad-da-iṣ*
15. *ibaššu(-šu) (amil) nakru a-na muḫ-ḫi-ni*
16. *il-du-du-ni*

VERSO

17. *ki-i pa-ni šarri*
 18. *bīli-ia ma-ḥir*
 19. *a-:a (h.) Kudurru ša Bit-A-muḫ-ḫan-na*
 20. *šarru iš-pur-ma*
 21. *li-bu-ku-uš ṭim-ma*
 22. *ina biti šarri bīli-ia*
 23. *ḥa-du-u lu-šī-šib-šu-nu-tú*
 24. *umu(.mu) ma-la šu-nu*
 25. *ina Bit-A-muḫ-ḫan-na aš-ba*
 26. *aḥi-šu-nu*
 27. *ul ik-kib-ba-su-ma*
 28. *dul-lu ša šarri*
 29. *bīli-ia*
 30. *ul ip-pu-uš-šu*

(1) Au roi des rois, mon maître. (2) Ton serviteur Nabu-ušallim. (3, 4) Qu'Aššur, Šamaš, et Marduk souhaitent la prospérité du roi mon maître. (5) Ces hommes-là, dans les marais, (6) ce sont tous gens *du commun*(?). (7) La moitié d'entre eux, gens de familles, (8, 9) s'étant échappés, du temps de Šamaš-ibni, (10) pour s'établir dans le Bit-Amuḫḫana, (11) ils excitent les pays (depuis lors). (12, 13) Leurs frères (restés au pays) ne nous sont pas hostiles. (14, 15) Ceux-là (les émigrés) sont les perturbateurs; (15, 16) ils entraînent des ennemis contre nous. (17, 18) Si cela plaît au roi mon maître, (19, 20) qu'il envoie un message à Kudur de Bit-Amuḫḫana, (21) qu'on lui (22, 23) qu'il les établisse dans un séjour que le roi approuve. (24, 25) Aussi longtemps qu'ils demeureront dans le Bit-Amuḫḫana, (26) leurs frères (27) ne seront pas soumis, (28-30) ni ne feront l'ouvrage du roi mon maître.

NOTES

L. 5.—*Apparu* désigne proprement une espèce de roseaux. Ce sens ressort du texte de Sennachérib, *Bellino*, l. 43: "Je fauchai les *api kupi* qui sont au pays de Kaldi, et j'en fis traîner les luxuriants *appari* par la foule des ennemis capture de ma main, (jusqu'à Ninive pour servir à sa reconstruction)." L'idéogramme d'*apparu*    le définit comme le roseau des marais, qui est grand et

fort en Babylonie.—Dans notre passage, *appari*, (comme aussi *apparu* K. 509, H. 259, l. 8), désigne une région, nécessairement marécageuse. Elle est caractérisée par cette espèce de roseaux. On pratique aussi, d'une façon spéciale, la culture maraîchère dans les *appari* comme on le voit par les inscriptions de Nabuchodonosor, qui met sur la table des dieux (Grotefend, I, 19) : “volaille, poisson, oignons, *pilâ*, ornement des *appari*,” ou bien, énumérés dans un autre ordre (*Ibid.* II, 13, 14) : “oignons, *pilâ*, poisson, volailles, ornement des *appari*,” ce qui prouve que l'apposition *ornement des appari* s'étend à tous ces objets.—Du chef spécial de la culture de l'oignon, l'*apparu* avait sa grande importance pour les Babyloniens. En effet, ils aimaient l'oignon, puisqu'ils en parlent en termes si honorables et qu'ils le servaient à leurs dieux ; ils en faisaient une grande consommation, d'après les nombreux contrats relatifs à ce légume et notamment cette petite tablette (Strassmaier, *Cyrus*, No. 41) qui porte un compte de 395,000 bottes d'oignons.

L. 6.—*Baṣiti*, si c'est ainsi qu'il faut lire, serait à rapprocher. de *بَسِيط* et de *𐎶𐎶𐎶 simple, naïf*.

L. 7.—*Šamaš-ibni* doit être un chef chargé précédemment de la surveillance du district en question.

L. 8.—Pour la lecture de *𐎶𐎶𐎶*, *mišlu*, voir Brünnow, 9985.—*Les gens de familles*, c'est-à-dire, d'après le contexte, les plus qualifiés et les plus riches.

L. 14.—*Mad-da-iš*. Lecture douteuse du groupe *𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶*. Le sens du mot paraît plus certain ; c'est un collectif. Il signifie aussi quelque chose comme *agitateurs, instigateurs*, dans K. 638, H. 338, ll. 9-15 :

Mad-da-iš ultu amilu ša pun ika' ū(amil) rabūti ana amil Kal-ki (Kal-di?) uriduni—ahi ša šar (mat) Ilamti ana šarri ahi-šunu una' ū—udakkuniššu umma—madaktū niḫsurma—ana amil Kal-ki nibirma—amil Kal-ki ina ka'at (mat) Aššur (-ki) nikim—šar (mat) Ilamti ul iḥdi ul išmišunutū ul imangur umma—ana adi ul asillu.

“Des instigateurs sont venus de la part des officiers du palais et des grands (d'Élam) à la tribu de Kalki (Kaldi?).—Les frères du roi d'Élam ont pressé le roi leur frère,—ils l'ont sollicité vivement en ces termes :—nous formerons une armée (littér., un camp),—passerons dans la tribu de Kalki,—enlèverons la tribu de Kalki de la main du pays d'Assur.—Le roi d'Élam n'agréa point, il ne les écouta pas, il n'obtempéra pas, disant :—Je ne ferai pas outrage au serment.”

(*Una'u*, II, 1 ; de la racine *𐎶𐎵*.—*Asillu* est à rapprocher de *sillatu*, outrage.)

Maddaiš se recontre encore dans une lettre (K. 1107, H. 238) où il n'est question que de troubles et de révoltes en Babylonie. Malheureusement le mot s'y lit (recto, l. 11) au commencement d'une phrase dont la suite manque : *Utu maddaiš šipiriti ma'diti* = beaucoup de lettres (ou messages) de la part des agitateurs.

Maddaiš, si c'est bien ainsi qu'il faut lire, se rapporte probablement à la racine *𐎶𐎵*, Del. *Handw.* p. 208.

Ll. 28-30.—Le passage de Sennachérib cité ci-dessus (note à la l. 8) suggère l'idée que l'ouvrage imposé aux gens des *appari* consistait, du moins en partie, à couper des roseaux pour le roi de Ninive et à les lui faire parvenir. Ce même passage indique que les roseaux s'employaient dans les constructions, et cela est confirmé par plusieurs contrats qui mettent à la charge des locataires de maisons les ouvrages en roseaux et en poutres, c'est-à-dire, probablement, l'entretien de cloisons ou de chassis formés de ces matériaux. Ainsi. Strassm., *Nabonidus*, 1030, 13, 14 : *dullu kanu ū (iṣ) gušuru mala Kinâ ina libbi ippušu*, "Kinâ (locataire d'une maison) y fera tout ouvrage de roseaux et de poutres." L'usage des roseaux *appari* dans les constructions est pareillement indiqué par la petite tablette K. 903, H. 124. Un Gabbu-ana-Aššur écrit là au roi de Ninive, auquel il devait fournir ce produit : *appari mar (?) ibašuni ana matini*, "les *appari* sont en petite quantité (?) pour notre pays. Et après quelques mots d'une lecture incertaine, où figure le *mutir putu* ou réquisiteur : * *appari ana bit isiti-ia laššu*, "il n'y a pas (même) d'*appari* pour ma maison d'*isiti*."

VI

K. 82.—Harper, 275

KUDUR AU ROI DE NINIVE

Écriture babylonienne.

Cette lettre a été traduite par M. S. A. Smith dans les *Proceedings*, t. IX, pp. 248, 249, et par M. Delitzsch, dans les *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, t. I, pp. 243, 244. La seconde traduction a rectifié maint détail de la première, mais, croyons-nous, sans rendre davan-

* Voir ci dessous No. VII.

tage le sens général de la pièce. Le contenu de la lettre est ainsi résumé par M. Delitzsch :

“Kudurru meldet dem assyr. Könige, dass eine Schaar von Puḫudäern nach Vernichtung von Bit-Amuḫan gegen die assyrischen Grenzwachtplätze zum Angriff vorgerückt sei, dass sie aber hierbei in einen von einem Streifcorps Kudurru's gelegten Hinterhalt gefallen und abgefangen worden seien. Kudurru sendet gleichzeitig zur Bestätigung dieser Nachricht puḫudäische Kriegsgefangene an den König. Weiter aber verbindet er damit die Bitte, die Puḫudäer, welche sich in Bit-Amuḫan bereits häuslich niedergelassen begonnen hätten, vertreiben und an ihrer Statt Soldaten des Königs ansiedeln zu dürfen.”

Voici au contraire ce que nous voyons dans cette pièce :

Kudur, chef babylonien au service du roi d'Assyrie, a mis en mouvement une bande d'hommes, dont la mission parut suspecte à Nabu-šar-ušur, autre officier royal, qui était de garde dans la même région. En conséquence, Nabu-šar-ušur a capturé cette troupe. Mais Kudur donne au roi l'explication suivante. Il avait désiré qu'on occupât certaines places, pour prévenir les incursions des Puḫudiens dans le Bit-Amuḫani. On ne l'a pas écouté, et les Puḫudiens en ont profité. Ils ont exercé des ravages dans le Bit-Amuḫani, et s'y sont établis. C'est pour les refouler que Kudur avait envoyé ses gens. Il prend à témoin de la vérité les hommes tombés aux mains de Nabu-šar-ušur. Il proteste contre la conduite des Puḫudiens, et fort de son innocence, ou afin de jouer son rôle jusqu'au bout, il prie le roi d'envoyer des troupes pour les déloger.

RECTO

1. *A-na šar matâti bi-ili-ia*
2. *arad-ka (h.) Kudurru Bîl û Nabu*
3. *šu-lum ba-la-tu û a-ra-ku umu(-mu)*
4. *ša šarri bi-ili-ia a-na da-riš liḫ-bu-u*
5. *ul-tu i-na mat na-ki-ru a-na-ku*
6. *amilu Pu-ḫu-du ina ti-bi Bit-(h.)-A-muḫ-a-ni*
7. *ardâni ša šarri bi-ili-ia uk-ti-it-tu-u*
8. *maḥazâni ša a-na maṣarti ša šarri bi-ili-ia*
9. *u-ša-aš-bi-tu um-ma (amil) ḫal-lu-u*
10. *ša šarri bi-ili-ia lu-ši-ti-ḫu-u*

11. *a-na muḥ-ḥi maḥazâni i-tib-bu-u*
12. *ṣabi i-duk-ku-u sinniṣâti u-ṣaḥ-ma-ṣu-u*
13. *û a-na muḥ-ḥi (h.) Za-ba-a-a*
14. *(amil) mutir-ru pu-tu it-ti-bu-u*
15. *umu(-mu) ṣa a-na Bit-(h.)-A-muḥ-a-ni*
16. *i-ru-bu iḫ-ta-bu-nu*
17. *um-ma amil ti-bi-i a-na muḥ-ḥi*
18. *(amil) mutir-ru pu-tu it-ti-bu-u*
19. *ṣabi al-tap-ra um-ma*
20. *al-ka-a-ma*

VERSO

21. *ana 'a-la-' uṣ-ṣi ṣa-'a*
22. *maṣarta uṣ-ra-a-ma*
23. *ṣu-ub-bi-ta-niṣ-ṣû-nu-tu*
24. *i-na muḥ-ḥi nâr ṣarri a-na-muḥ-ḥi*
25. *(h.) Nabu-ṣar-uṣur (amil) rab ki-ṣir*
26. *ki-i it-bu-u uṣ-ṣab-bit-su-nu-tu*
27. *ṣarru bi-ili-a a-ki-i ṣa i-li-'-u*
28. *liṣ-'a-al-ṣu-nu-tu ṣarru bi-ili-a i-di*
29. *ki-i Bit-(h.)-A-muḥ-a-ni iḫ-tu-ma*
30. *amilu Pu-ḫu-du ina kak-ḫa-ri-ṣu-nû aṣ-bu*
31. *(amil) ḫal-lu-u it-ti-ni ul u-ṣi-it-ti-ḫu*
32. *û ṣu-nu-ma amil ti-bi-i*
33. *û a-ni-ni ḫi-tu ṣa kak-ḫa-ru*
34. *ni-ḫat-tu ṣarru bi-ili-a lik-bi-ma*
35. *a-na tar-ṣi maḥazâni ṣa aṣ-bu-u*
36. *(amil) ḫal-lu-u lu-ṣi-ti-ḫu-u*

(1) Au roi des pays, mon maître. (2) Ton serviteur, Kudur. (2-4) Que Bel et Nébo décrètent irrévocablement prospérité, vie et longs jours du roi mon maître. (5) Depuis que je suis dans le pays des ennemis, (6, 7) la tribu de Puḫudu, dans une irruption, a ruiné le Bit-Amuḫani, soumis au roi mon maître. (8, 9) Les villes que j'avais conseillé d'occuper, pour la garde du roi mon maître, disant : (9, 10) Qu'on fasse marcher les soldats du roi mon maître, (11) ils (les Puḫ.) se sont jetés sur ces villes. (12) Ils ont tué les hommes, fait violence aux femmes, (13, 14) ils ont marché contre Zabâ, le *mutir putu* (un officier du roi). (15, 16) Le jour où ils

entrèrent dans le Bit-Amuḫani, on disait : (17, 18) Des agresseurs marchent contre le *mutir putu*. (19) J'envoyai des soldats, disant : (20) Allez, (21) attaquez la bande qui attaque, (22) faites la garde, (23) emparez-vous d'eux. (24-26) Quand ils furent arrivés au canal du Roi, dans le voisinage de Nabu-šar-ušur, le chef de brigade, (26) il s'empara d'eux. (27, 28) Que le roi les interroge suivant son bon plaisir. (28, 29) Le roi mon maître sait (donc) que le Bit-Amuḫani est ruiné. (30) Les Puḫudiens en occupent le territoire. (31) On n'a pas fait marcher les soldats avec nous ; (32) et ceux-là (les Puḫ.) sont les agresseurs, (33, 34) et nous, nous empêchons la violation du territoire ! (34) Que le roi mon maître parle, (35, 36) et qu'on fasse marcher les soldats vers les villes où ils (les Puḫ.) se trouvent.

NOTES

L. 5.—Le pays ennemi où se trouve Kudur est situé dans le voisinage des Puḫudiens et du Bit-Amuḫani, ainsi non loin du golfe Persique.

Ll. 8, 9.—Les villes dont il s'agit étaient situées dans le Bit-Amuḫani, comme le prouvent les ll. 28-36.—*La garde du roi*, c.-a.-d., du territoire du roi.

Ll. 9, 10.—Kudur avait dans son voisinage des soldats du roi qui refusèrent de le suivre dans la circonstance. Ce fait et la prise des hommes de Kudur par un officier du roi, prouvent que ses intentions parurent suspectes.

L. 14.—Le *mutir putu* (lecture établie par M. Delitzsch dans les *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, t. I, p. 203), figure comme commissaire royal dans cette lettre et plusieurs autres ; parfois c'est un officier directement attaché à la personne du roi en campagne. Voir le numéro VII, où nous étudions le rôle du *mutir putu*.

Le *mutir putu* de notre lettre fonctionne dans le Bit-Amuḫani ou dans les environs ; car du fait d'être entrés dans ce canton, les Puḫudiens sont accusés de lui en vouloir. Ce commissaire exerçait probablement aussi son autorité sur les Puḫudiens, qu'on représente soulevés contre lui.

Ll. 15-18.—Ces lignes trahissent de nouveau l'embarras de Kudur. Il est évident que le commissaire royal ne s'est pas aperçu des mauvaises intentions prêtées aux Puḫudiens à son endroit. Autrement Kudur en appellerait à son témoignage décisif.

L. 21.—'Ala', ou 'ula', comme le même mot se lit K. 514 (H. 268), r., 8 :

Ulu (signe du pl.) ša Bit-ilu ū ša (v.) Puḫudu ina (v.) Ru'ua ikkalu
 "Des bandes de Bit-ilu et de Piḫud ont été cernées à Ru'ua."

Ce mot désigne des bandes d'Arabes dans Assurb. c. 8, 124 et 9, 16.

Sur l'ellipse 'Ala' uṣṣi, pour 'ala' ša uṣṣi. Voir Delitzsch, *Grammatik*, pp. 354, 355.

Le verbe *aṣu* s'emploie dans cette phrase, comme l'hébreu אָסָה , dans le sens de s'avancer, *prodire*, pour attaquer (*uṣṣi*), et de s'avancer pour repousser une attaque (*šā*). On a lu avant nous en un mot : *uṣṣiṣā*, parce que la lecture si rationnelle *uṣṣi šā* ne se sera pas présentée à l'esprit. Kudur, en citant ce discours, réel ou prétendu, veut dire que les Puḫudiens, et non ses hommes, étaient les assaillants. Il l'affirme encore ll. 32-34. Par là il cherche sans aucun doute à détruire un soupçon ou une accusation.

Bel-ibni emploie un tour analogue en parlant à des soldats qu'il envoie contre des pillards élamites (K. 10.—Harper 280, recto, 10, 11) : *Dikti dūka ū amil hubtu hubtānu, tuez la bande meurtrière et pilliez le pillard.*

L. 24.—Le canal du Roi ne peut pas être le Nahr-Malkā de la Babylonie proprement dite. Ceux qu'a envoyés Kudur sont des Bit-Amuḫaniens, situés proche du pays de Kaldu. Ils n'ont pas fait ce détour en cherchant les Puḫudiens, voisins d'Elam, ou en allant à leur rencontre.

L. 28 —Ceux que Kudur prend à témoin devant le roi de la correction de sa conduite ne sont certainement pas des Puḫudiens, ses ennemis, mais nécessairement les hommes qu'il a envoyés, et dont il vient d'être question. Si ces hommes sont maintenant à la disposition du roi, c'est que Nabu-šar-uṣur, qui les a capturés, est un officier du roi.

VII

EXCURSUS

Le mutir putu

Le *mutir putu* est un commissaire royal, comme le prouvent divers passages de nos lettres. Ce n'est pas, comme on l'a cru, une espèce de licteur ou de garde du corps.

K. 669 (Harper, 246) est un rapport sur l'état des esprits dans un pays occupé par les Assyriens. Après avoir parlé de deux tribus soumises, la lettre ajoute (recto, ll. 10-16) :

Maḥazâni ša ūmâti—ša (h.) Šamaš-Malik (?)—la ḥanšuni—umâ annušim—(amil) mutir puti uptaḥir—ina muḥḥi-ia naḥa—usalim-šunu.

“Les villes qui aux jours—de Šamaš-Malik (?)—n'étaient pas soumises,—maintenant voilà—que le *mutir putu* les a ralliées.—Elles sont paisibles à mon endroit.—Je les ai rétablies.”

C'est donc, avec celui de la lettre de Kudur, le deuxième cas où le *mutir putu* fonctionne en pays étranger, loin du roi ; il en est de même dans les cas suivants.

Un nommé Nirgal-iṭir écrit au roi (K. 560, H. 227) :

(Amil) mar šipri ša (h.) Daltâ ina pan šarri bilî italka.

“Un messenger de Daltâ est parti vers le roi mon maître.”

Daltâ, connu par les inscriptions de Sargon, était roi d'Illipi, pays voisin d'Élam. La lettre est donc écrite de l'étranger. L'auteur de la lettre est probablement le même Nirgal-iṭir que celui d'une autre petite lettre K. 526 (Harper, 226) qui écrit aussi d'un pays étranger soumis au roi, comme l'insinuent ces mots : *ana mati ša šarri šulmu* (Voir notre précédent article, No. IV). Or nous lisons dans cette dernière lettre (*cf.* Delitzsch, dans *Beitr. zur Ass.*, t. I., pp. 202-204) : “Le six du mois d'Âru le *mutir putu* arriva chez moi et le sept du mois d'Âru, les chevaux furent emmenés.” Le *mutir putu* était venu presser un envoi de chevaux.

Un *mutir putu* est demandé pour régler une affaire qui concerne la tribu des Zalipai, et sur laquelle on est renseigné par un messenger du pays de Parsua (K. 497, H. 165, verso, ll. 6-11) :

Annušim ana šarri bilî asapra—šarru bilî (amil) mutir puti lišpura—ša pî ša (mat) Zalipai lišmi.

“Voilà que j'ai mandé (l'affaire) au roi mon maître.—Que le roi mon maître envoie un *mutir puti*,—pour entendre la parole des Zalipiens.”

Le *mutir putu* représente l'autorité du roi. Requis de fournir certain objet, un Babylonien nommé Šamaš-ibni refuse et dit (K. 664, H. 336, r. ll. 12, 13) : *Ša la unḫu šarri u ša la (amil) mutir puti ul anamdakka*, “sans sceau (lettre) du roi et sans *mutir puti*, je ne te le donnerai pas.”

On voit le *mutir putu* chargé de surveiller le transport des prisonniers et du butin de guerre. Ainsi, K. 582 (H. 167), r. l. 7—v. l. 2, un fonctionnaire dit au roi :

Niši alpî ša ištu (v.) Guzana naşunini—adi (v.) Šabirišu ina irti-şunu attalak—atahir atahar—(iṣ) şilla (?) usaşbit.—ina amari ina libbi—(h.) Kinâ (amil) malaḥu maşak bar. ra. III napsâti—(h.) Sandapî (amil) nu.iṣ urḫi III napsâti—(h.) Huli (amil) ikkaru V napsâti—(h.) Kuzâ amilu ša sa.ga.ti.liš (?) IV napsâti—naphar XV napsâti [maṣu ša (iṣ) zu-ia.—Ištu lib (v.) Šabirišu (amil) mutir putu ina muḥḫi-şunu ana (v.) Guzana usaḫir—nuk alik riḫti niṣi izalka bila.

“Les hommes, les bœufs qu'on a amenés de Guzana,—j'ai été à leur rencontre jusqu'à Šabirišu.—Je les reçus. Je les reçus,—(et) je leur fis occuper un *abri* (?)—A l'inspection (litt. à y regarder),—Kinâ, batelier de *radeau en peau*,* (avec sa famille) trois personnes,—Sandapî, cultivateur de légumes, trois personnes,—Hulî, laboureur, cinq personnes,—Kuzâ, quatre personnes,—en tout quinze personnes en moins de ma tablette (de contrôle).—De Šabirišu, je fis retourner pour elles le *mutir putu* à Guzana,—disant : Va *emmène* (?), fais venir le reste des hommes.”

(Sur *izalka*, cf. Johns, dans les *Proceedings*, t. XVII, p. 233, notes.)

Mêmes fonctions attribuées au *mutir putu* par le roi, dans la lettre K. 622 (H. 306):

Abît šarri ana (h.) Nabu-dur-uşur—annuṣim (h.) Mannu-kî-i Aşşur (amil) mutir puti ina muḥ (amil) maḥḫûti ammuti (p.) Urarḫai asapra-şu-[ma]—ina panat amil ḫubti† ḫannuti‡—ša

* *Maşak* BAR.RA. *Maşak*, peau, doit être un déterminatif aphone, et l'idéogramme suivant représenter le nom particulier du radeau. On sait d'ailleurs qu'on se servait de barques pareilles sur les fleuves de Mésopotamie dès l'époque assyrienne. Voir Delitzsch, *Handw.* p. 705, a, au mot *taḫşu*.

† *Amil ḫubtu*, homme de pillage, pillard, (comme H. 280, recto, ll. 11, 12, cité plus haut, No. VI, note à la ligne 21). Ici l'expression désigne des pillards faits prisonniers.

‡ *Ḫannu* est une variante orthographique de *annu*. Ainsi Rm. 76 (H. 338), recto, l. 25—verso, l. 3: “Quel roi comme celui-ci (*a-ki an-ni-i*) a fait du bien à ses serviteurs? Et quel est l'ami qui comme celui-ci (*a-ki an-ni-i*) a rendu le bien à son ami? De même (littéralement: *comme cela, a-ki ḫa-an-ni-ma*), que les dieux du ciel et de la terre, aussi longtemps que le ciel et la terre dureront, fasse bien et faveur aux arrière-neveux du roi mon maître.”—83-1-18, 16 (H. 362), recto, l. 13—verso, l. 8: “Ainsi que (*ki-i ša*) nos pères faisaient pour leurs maîtres de même (*ki-i ḫa-an-nim-ma*) ferons-nous . . . Comme (*ki-i ša*) tels ont dit nous de même (*ki-i an-nim-mu*)”—S. 1368 (H. 357), verso, ll. 7-10: “Comme j'étais là, celui-là entra. Je regardai: c'était un petit homme (*ša ki-i ḫa-an-ni-i*) tel qu'il ne s'en crée pas.”—K. 592 (H. 305), que nous citons en entier: “Avis du roi à Ašipa. Pour ces (*ḫa-an-nu-ti*)

ina panikunu akali ikalûni—ana (v.) Urzuḫina ubbalaššunu—atta umu ša igirtu annitu tamaruni—riš amil ḫubti ḫannî isal ṣubbit—zû lizzizu

“Avis du roi à Nabu-dur-ušur.—Voilà que Mannu-ki-Assur, le *mutir puti*, je l'envoie pour ces nobles Urartiens.*—D'abord, ces pillards—qui mangent les aliments devant vous,†—il les transportera à Urzuḫina.—Toi, le jour où tu auras vu cette lettre,—demande et prends la somme (fais le dénombrement) de ces pillards.—Qu'ils se trouvent sur une tablette.” ‡

Le *mutir putu* ne fonctionne pas exclusivement à l'étranger. La lettre 83-1-18, 19 (H. 339) v. ll. 10, 11, demande au roi d'envoyer un *mutir putu*, digne de confiance, *taklu*, à propos d'argent à extraire des trésors du roi et de ceux des temples en Assyrie.

Le *mutir putu* a un autre rôle dans la grande inscription de Sennachérib, III, 72. Sennachérib descend de cheval et emporte une montage d'assaut avec les *mutir puti de ses pieds et ses soldats qui ne font pas de quartier*. Il ne semble pas que les *mutir puti* forment ici l'infanterie, comme plusieurs l'ont cru. Une mention spéciale de l'infanterie n'est pas naturelle, étant donné surtout l'extrême brièveté du récit, dans une circonstance où tous, jusqu'au roi, combattent à pied. Les *mutir puti des pieds du roi*, sont un corps d'officiers, et probablement d'officiers à cheval, attachés à la personne du roi à la guerre. L'expression rappelle les mots : *je marcherai par ses pieds*, dont se sert le roi pour signifier que Mušizib-Marduk le suivra dans ses voyages (67-4-2, 1, Harper, 399, étudié dans notre numéro III).



Putu, comme l'a établie M. Delitzsch, signifie *front*. Dans *mutir putu*, il semble employé dans le sens de *persona*, comme le grec *πρόσωπον*. Le *mutir putu* du roi est le représentant, le lieu-

Nabatiens (pri-onniers) au sujet desquels tu m'as écrit, ils sont en ta présence (c'est-à-dire, ils sont à ta disposition, je te les donne).”

On trouve de même 80-7-19, 17 (H. 426), l. 8, *ḫannaka* pour *annaka*. A signaler aussi dans une lettre de Tell el-Amarna (recueil du British Museum, 23, l. 27), *ḫaiabi*, pour *aiabi*, ennemis.

* Urartiens prisonniers dont il doit avoir été question auparavant entre le roi et le destinataire.

† C'est-à-dire, que vous êtes chargés, vous et vos gens, d'entretenir.

‡ *Zu*, tablette, est exprimé par l'idéogramme . Dans l'extrait précédent, on a l'expression phonétique *zu*, précédée du déterminatif . Cf. Pognon, *Bavian*, pp. 37, 132, et Brinnow, 140 et 10561.—K. 1396 (H. 185), r. 14 : *ina (iṣ) zu-ka tuṣur*, “écris sur ta tablette.”

tenant de sa personne. Une expression analogue est *mutir tîmu*, le représentant de la pensée, l'agent d'un autre, K. 644 (H. 336), r. l. 4.

Le *mutir putu* était nommé directement par le roi, ce qui suppose un rang supérieur, comme il ressort de la lettre K. 613 (Harper, 85). On parle là au roi de trois hommes qu'il avait promus respectivement à la dignité de *mutir putu* et à deux autres, et on les accuse, semble-t-il, de manquer de tenue. Voici une transcription et un essai de traduction de cette curieuse pièce :

Ardâni ša bit bîlî-ia—ša šarru bîli umu anniu uparrisûni—(h.)
Tabbâ mar (h.) Bîl-ḥarranu-ušur ša ana (amil) rab-kiširutû šarru
bîli ušîlûni—(h.) Nabu-sakip ša ana (amil) III. ḥu. si. (plr.)
kâmanutû šarru bîli ušîlûni—(h.) Imur-Marduk ša ana (amil) mutir
puti šarru bîli ušîlûni—III annuti šabi—šakranutû šunu—kima
išakkiru—amilu paṭru parzillu ištu pan miḥiri-šu la usaḥra—abutû
ša udûni ana šarri bîlî-ia assapara—šarru bîli kî ša ilauni—lipuš

“ Les serviteurs de la maison de mes maîtres—que le seigneur roi a réprimés aujourd'hui :—Tabbâ fils de Bîl-ḥarranu-ušur, que le seigneur roi avait élevé au rang des chefs de brigade,—Nabu-sakip que le seigneur roi avait élevé au rang des X perpétuels,—Imur-Marduk que le seigneur roi avait élevé au rang des *mutir puti*,—ces trois (hommes)—sont des ivrognes.—Quand ils sont ivres,—personne ne détourne le poignard de fer de devant soi (=c'est-à-dire, tout le monde a son poignard prêt, en cas de violence).—J'ai mandé au roi mon maître la chose au sujet de laquelle il m'a donné des ordres.—Que le seigneur roi agisse comme il l'entend.”

(Cf. Delitzsch, *Handw.* p. 543, a, b ; p. 661, a, *šakrânu*.)

VIII

K. 94.—Harper, 287

LE ROI DE NINIVE A DES HABITANTS DE X

Écriture babylonienne.

Cette lettre est adressée à des anciens, ou notables, d'une ville qui, d'après ce qui reste de son nom, est probablement Nipur.

Le roi les félicite de la capture de quelques individus de la tribu de Rua. A la plainte de n'avoir pas été admis, comme certains de leurs concitoyens, à son audience, il répond que c'est la faute de

ceux qui auraient dû les introduire ; il jure qu'il a les mêmes bons sentiments pour eux tous.

RECTO

1.
2. *a-na amil Nipuru (?)*
3. *šulmu(-mu) a-a-ši*
4. *lib-ba-ku-nu lu-u-ṭab-ku-nu*
5. *ina ili (h.) Ḫa-an-na-na (h.) Ri-mut*
6. *u (h.) Malik- (d.) -A-'a (?)*
7. *amil Ru-u-a-a ša taš-pur-a-ni*
8. *ba-ni ša taš-ba-ta-šu-nu-ti*
9. *in-na a-na mašarti-šu-nu*
10. *la ṭi-ig-ga-a'*
11. *û ina ili ša taš-pur-a-ni*
12. *um-ma XV a-ni-nu*
13. *(amil) šibuti a-na šul-mi*
14. *ša — \ ki-i ni-il-li-ka*
15. *šarru i-tir-bu*
16. *kib*
17. *ma*

VERSO

18. *ba-ni ḫi-iṭ-ṭu*
19. *ša an.da. ḫu (pak ?).ki*
20. *ša (amil) šak-ni-ku-nu šu-u*
21. *u ša-ni-ia'-nu*
22. *ša amil ša pan i-kal*
23. *ša la u-ši-rib-ak-ku-nu-ši*
24. *i-na pa-ni-ia i-na libbi*
25. *(d.) Aššur ilâni-i-a at-ti-mi*
26. *ki-i i-du-u ša mi-šil-ku-nu*
27. *i-ru-bu i-na pa-ni-i*
28. *û mi-šil-ku-nu ia'-nu*
29. *a-na-ku i-di-i*
30. *a-ga-a man-nu û a-ga-a*
31. *man-nu ṭabtu ša gab-bi-ku-nu*
32. *ki-i ištīn ina muḫ-ḫi-i*

(2) Aux hommes de Nipur (?). (3) Je vais bien. (4) Que le cœur vous soit joyeux. (5-7) Concernant ce que vous m'avez

mandé de Hannana, de Rimut et Malik-A'a, Ruïens, (8) il est bon que vous les ayez pris. (9, 10) Ainsi ne vous laissez pas de les garder. (11) Et concernant ce que vous m'avez mandé (12) en ces termes : Nous quinze, (13, 14) anciens, étant venus pour saluer le, etc., (15) [une partie d'entre nous en présence du] roi entra, (16, 17) (18) c'est la faute (19) (20) de votre gouverneur, (21) et en second lieu (22) des hommes qui sont devant le palais, (23) lesquels ne vous introduisirent pas (24) en ma présence au dedans. (25) J'atteste Assur, mon dieu, (26) si j'ai su (= que je n'ai pas su) que la moitié d'entre vous (27) étaient entrés en ma présence, (28) et la moitié d'entre vous pas. (29) Moi je connais (30) celui-ci, quel il est, et celui-là, (31) quel il est. Le mérite de vous tous (32) est tout un pour moi.

NOTES

L. 10.—*Tiggâ*, du verbe *igû*. Hebr. עָנָה . Cf. Del. *Handw.* p. 16, a.

L. 14.—Les signes $\text{—} \searrow$ notent, à la façon d'un pointillé, l'omission de quelques mots dans la citation. Après le signe \searrow , la citation est reprise. Les Nipuriens avaient écrit des choses comme celles-ci : Pour saluer le roi des pays notre maître, pour voir la face du roi, etc.

L. 22.—*Les gens en face du palais*, c.-à.-d., les officiers chargés d'introduire ou d'exclure ceux qui veulent voir le roi.

L. 25.—Le pluriel *ilâni* pour le singulier, comme il se rencontre souvent dans les lettres de Tell el-Amarna. Même particularité dans la lettre suivante, l. 12.

L. 26.—*Idû*, 1^{re} personne du sing. Cf. Del. *Handw.* p. 305, b.

Mišil. Comme il s'agit de quinze hommes, il est clair qu'il ne faut pas prendre le mot *mišil*, moitié, dans le sens rigoureux.

L. 32.—*Ki ištîn* = comme un.

IX

K. 824—Harper, 290

LE ROI À SIN-TABNI-AĦU

Écriture babylonienne.

On a accusé Sin-tabni-aĥu chez le roi de crimes dignes de mort. Le roi n'en a rien cru. Il n'a garde de tuer un bon serviteur, le soutien de sa maison.

RECTO

1. *A-mat šarri a-na (h.) Sin-tabni-aḥu*
2. *šul-mu ia-a-ši lib-ba-ka*
3. *lu-ṭa-ab-ka*
4. *ina ili (h.) Sin-šarru-ušur*
5. *ša taš-pur mī-nam-ma dib-bi-ka*
6. *bi-šu-u-tu i-ga-ba-am-ma*
7. *û a-na-ku a-šim-miš*
8. *ištu (d.) Šamaš libbu-šu naṣṣa(-ḥa)*
9. *û (h.) Um-man-i-gas kar-ši-ka*
10. *ina pani-ia i-kul û a-na*
11. *dikti id-din-u-ka*
12. *û (d.) Aššur ilâni-ia-a*
13. *u-sal-an-ni-i-ma*
14. *šu iḥ-du-u-ma arda-a-a*
15. *û iṣ-du ša bīt abi-ia*
16. *la a-du-ku*
17. *ul ina libbi ša it-ti*
18. *bīt bili-ka-a*
19. *ka-ta-a-ta*

VERSO

20. *lum-mur a-ga-a-šu-u û*
21. *(h.) Um-man-i-gas ana ili*
22. *dikti-ka il-mu-u*
23. *û ina libbi ša ana-ku ki-nu-ti-ka*
24. *i-du-u [û] tir ri-mu*
25. *aš-kun-ak-ka ia'-nu-u*
26. *II-ta a-ga-a šanâti*
27. *(amil) nakru û bu-bu-u-ti*
28. *i-na ili bit bili-ka*
29. *ul taš-du-ud mi-nu-u*
30. *i-gab-bu-nim-ma ina ili*
31. *(amil) ardi ša bit bili-šu i-ram-mu*
32. *û a-na-ku a-kip-pu'*
33. *û ina ili dul-la ša at-ta û*
34. *aššurai aḥi -ka*
35. *tī-bu-ša' ša taš-pur*
36. *ba-an ša tī-bu-ša'*
37. *maṣarta-a-a ša taš-[šur-ra]*
38. *ab an an*

CÔTÉ GAUCHE

39. *û šumu-ga a-ga-a ša ina pani-i ban-u û tabâti*40. *ša u-tar-rak-ka ana libbi ša ana mar marâni*

(1) Parole du roi à Sin-tabni-aḫu. (2, 3) Je vais bien. Que le cœur te soit joyeux. (4, 5) Quant à ce que tu me mandes au sujet de Sin-šarru-uṣur, (5-7) quel mauvais propos tiendra-t-il sur toi, que je puisse écouter? (8) Son cœur s'est écarté du (dieu) Soleil; (9, 10) Ummanigas aussi a médité de toi devant moi. (10, 11) Et ils te vouent à la mort. (12, 13) J'ai prié Aššur, mon dieu. (14-16) Il approuve, et je ne tue pas mon serviteur, le soutien de la maison de mon père. (17-19) Il n'est pas dans leur pensée que tu périrais avec la maison de ton maître. (20) Je pourrais voir cela! Et (21, 22) Ummanigas a travaillé à ta mort! (23-25) Et il n'est pas dans sa pensée que je connais ta fidélité et que je t'ai fait retour de bienveillance. (26-29) N'as-tu pas, ces deux années (passées), supporté l'ennemi et la famine pour la maison de ton maître? (29-32) Que diraient-ils que je pusse croire, contre un serviteur qui aime la maison de son maître?

(33-35) Et quant à ce que tu me mandes du travail que toi et les Assyriens tes compagnons vous avez fait, (36) il est bon ce que vous avez fait.

(37) La garde que vous faites, (38) (39) Et cette réputation que tu as devant moi, est bonne, et les bienfaits (40) dont je te favoriserai en retour, *il est dans ma pensée qu'(ils s'étendent) jusqu'aux descendants (?)*.

NOTES

Ll. 5-7.—Littéralement: "Quel mauvais propos tiendra-t-il sur toi, et je le croirai." La même tournure, très sémitique, se retrouve, ll. 29-32.

L. 8.—Le sens est que Sin-šarru-uṣur oublie la présence du dieu Soleil, lequel, suivant la conception assyrio-babylonienne, voit tout et juge tous les êtres.

L. 12.—*Ilâni*, pl. pour sing. Voir n° VIII, note à la ligne 25.

L. 14.—*Iḫdu*.—*Ḫadu* a souvent le sens de consentir. "Un tel a conclu tel accord *ina ḫud libbi-šu*, = du consentement de son cœur," est une expression qui se rencontre dans une foule de contrats. Voir également K. 615, H. 258, l. 23, expliqué plus haut, n° V.

L. 20.—*Lummur*, pour *lu am-mur*. L'expression ne peut-être optative dans le contexte. Nous croyons que c'est un potentiel exclamatif.

L. 29.—*Tašdud*.—*Šadadu* = traîner. Dans ce passage, il semble ne pouvoir signifier que : supporter longtemps, persévéramment.


L. 39.—*Šumu-ga*, pour *šumu-ka*, n'est pas une anomalie dans l'écriture babylonienne.

X

K. 517.—Harper, 327

LE CHEF DE LA VILLE DE NIPUR AU ROI

Écriture babylonienne.

L'auteur de cette lettre se donne la titre de , dont nous ne connaissons ni la lecture ni le sens. Mais il parle comme chef de la ville de Nipur. Il se plaint de ce que sa ville est privée d'eau par la mauvaise volonté du gouverneur de Babylone, lequel a obstrué ou refuse de dégager la prise d'eau d'un canal qui amène l'eau potable à Nipur.

Cette pièce est fort instructive. Elle montre la ruine de l'empire assyrien à peu près consommée, et le roi de Ninive ne possédant plus en dehors de l'Assyrie, que la Babylonie en tout ou en partie. Il y paraît quelque peu dépouillé de sa grande majesté ; le préfet de Nipur lui parle avec un sans-gêne tout à fait remarquable. La lettre est nécessairement postérieure aux temps que nous connaissons par les inscriptions d'Assurbanipal.

RECTO

1. *A-na šarri bi-ili-ia*
2. *arad-ka amil tik.in.na*
3. *(d.) Bīl (d.) Adar ū (d.) Nuzku*
4. *a-na šarri bi-ili-ia lik-ru-bu*
5. *šarru i-di ša lu ma'-da*
6. *mar-ša-ak la mar-ša-ak*
7. *a-na šul-mi šarri at-tal-kan šú (?)*
8. *a-du-u (h.) Bīl-u-sa-tu aḥ-u-a*
9. *ū X(amil)marāni mudī (?) ša Nipuru(-ki)*

10. *a-na šul-mi šarri bi-ili-ia*
11. *al-taṣ-ra šarru i-di matâti*
12. *gab-bi a-na ili (mat) Aššur(-ki)*
13. *i-zi-ir-u na-ši niri-šu*
14. *i-na matâti gab-bi ul it-ri-id*
15. *a-šar ni-il-lak ni-id-da-ka*
16. *um-ma mi-nam-ma nira*
17. *ša (mat) Aššur(-ki) ta-aṣ-bat-'a*
18. *a-du-u abullî-ia*
19. *nu-uṣ-taḥ-ḥî a-na pit-ḥî*
20. *ul nu-uṣ-šu*

•
VERSO

21. *mašartu ša šarru ni-nam-šar*
22. *(amil) sukkallu û (amil) rablti ša a-na*
23. *a-ḥî-na šarru iṣ-pur gab-bi i-tam-ru-u*
24. *a-na šarri lik-bu-u šarru ana ḳat man-ma*
25. *la u-maš-šar-an-na-a-ši mî i-ni*
26. *ia-a-nu ina ṣu-um-mî-î la ni-ma-ta*
27. *šarru abu-ka mî ša nâr Ba-ni-ti*
28. *id-dan-na-na-a-ši um-ma ši-li-iḥ-ti*
29. *ša nâr Bani-ti a-na Nipur(-ki) ḥi-ra-'a*
30. *mî . . . la-a ik-tî-la-na-a-ši in-na*
31. *šarru a-na (h.) U-bar (amil) šaku ša Babilu(-ki)*
32. *liš-pu-ram-ma ši-li-iḥ-ti*
33. *ša nâr Bani-ti lid-din-an-na-ši-ma*
34. *mî it-ti-šu-nu ni-il-ti*
35. *ina ṣu-um-mî-î la ḳat šarri*
36. *la ni-il-li û matâti*
37. *gab-bi la [i]-gab-bu-u*
38. *um-ma (amil) Nipurai*
39. *ša nira ša (mat) Aššur(-ki)*
40. *iṣ-bat-u ina ṣu-um-mî-î*
41. *a-na ši-ri-î*
42. *in-ṭa-lu-u*

(1) Au roi mon maître. (2) Ton serviteur l'homme de X.
 (3, 4) Que Bîl, Adar et Nusku soient propices au roi mon maître
 (5, 6) Le roi sait que je suis très malade. N'étais-je malade, (7) je

serais allé moi-même saluer le roi. (8-11) Maintenant j'envoie Bîl-usatu, mon frère, et dix *sages* (?) de Nipur, pour saluer le roi mon maître. (11-13) Le roi le sait, tous les peuples sont hostiles au pays d'Assur; (13, 14) son joug n'est plus toléré en aucun pays. (15) Partout où nous allons nous sommes excités (16, 17) en ces termes: "Pourquoi prenez-vous le joug du pays d'Aššur?" (18, 19) Cependant nous tenons bien fermées les portes de la ville; (20) nous ne sortons pas, (21) nous faisons la garde pour le roi. (22, 23) L'inspecteur et les chefs que le roi a envoyés de ce côté, tous l'ont vu. (24) Qu'ils le disent au roi. (24, 25) Que le roi ne nous abandonne à la main (à la merci) de personne. (25, 26) Il n'y a pas d'eau de source pour nous empêcher de mourir de soif. (27, 28) Le roi ton père nous avait donné l'eau du canal de Baniti, disant: (28, 29) Creusez une dérivation du canal de Baniti vers Nipur. (30) Il ne nous retrancha point les eaux *potables* (?). Donc, (31, 32) que le roi envoie (ses ordres) à Ubar, gouverneur de Babylone; (32, 33) qu'il nous donne la dérivation du canal de Baniti. (34) Nous boirons l'eau avec eux (les Babyloniens), (35, 36) Nous ne languirons pas d'une soif que le roi ne veut pas nous infliger, (36, 37) et les peuples ne diront plus de concert (38-42) ceci: Dans leur soif, les Nipuriens, qui ont accepté le joug d'Aššur, regardent en haut (vers le ciel soupirant après la pluie).

NOTES

L. 6.—*La maršak*, proposition hypothétique sans particule conditionnelle. Voir Del., *Grammatik*, p. 359.

L. 7.—*Attalkan* (ou *attalkam*), avec sens conditionnel. La lettre K., 509 (H. 259), verso, offre le conditionnel exprimé de la même manière, dans le cas d'une condition non réalisée, cette condition étant introduite par *kî*:

Ultu îli ša (v.) Birat hiptû û ilânišu abku—mîtu anaku—û unku ħuraši ša šarri bîlî kî amuru abtalut—û inna (amil) mar šiprî ana šulum šarri bîlî kî ašpura—unku ša šarri bîlî ul amur-ma ul ablut—mîtu anaku—šarru bîlia la umaššaranni.

"Depuis que (la ville de) Birat* a été saccagée et ses dieux emportés,—je suis mort (craignant le mécontentement du roi).—

* Dans cette inscription *Birat*, qui signifie forteresse, est un nom propre, comme le prouve *Birtai*, qui désigne les habitants, recto, l. 8.

Si j'avais vu l'anneau d'or (une lettre) du roi mon maître,—j'vivrais.—Et voilà qu'ayant envoyé mon messager saluer le roi, je n'ai pas vu l'anneau du roi (c'est-à-dire, je n'ai pas reçu de réponse), je n'ai pas revécu.—Je suis mort.—Le roi mon maître ne m'abandonnera pas."

La lettre 83-1-18, 39 (Harper, 345), dont nous occupons au numéro suivant, offre peut-être un autre exemple de l'expression du conditionnel dans le cas d'une supposition non réalisée. Les passages sont à noter parce qu'on a relevé jusqu'à présent fort peu d'éléments pour la théorie du conditionnel en assyrien, et, à notre connaissance, aucun exemple du type signalé. On en trouverait aussi des exemples dans les lettres de Tell el-Amarna.

Šu, transcription de *ṣ*. Ce caractère est donné comme douteux dans l'édition. S'il est authentique, il ne semble pas pouvoir signifier autre chose que *ipse*.

L. 14.—*Itrid*, forme I, 2, de *aradu*, servir.—*Naši nirišu ul itrid* signifie proprement: Le support de son joug n'est plus accepté avec soumission.—L'existence du verbe *aradu*, servir, a été prouvée par les lettres de Tell el-Amarna. Voir dans notre opuscule *le Pays de Chanaan province de l'ancien empire égyptien* (1896), p. 50, la note 1, sur le numéro 44, verso, l. 14, de Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von el-Amarna*.

L. 15.—*Niddaka*, forme IV, 1, de *diku*, appeler. Nous en avons rencontré une forme II, 1, *udakku*, en un passage cité dans notre numéro V, note à la ligne 14.

L. 18.—*Abullî-ia*.—Il faudrait traduire: nous avons fermé *mes* portes, ce qui est bizarre au point de vue du langage, et aussi du sens, car il s'agit des portes de la ville. *Ia*, erreur du scribe, pour le complément phonétique *i*? Ou bien *ia* remplace-t-il simplement *i*, comme l'inverse a lieu si souvent?

L. 19.—*Pithi*, de la même racine que *uptahhi*, doit signifier *fermeture* et avoir pour fonction d'insister sur l'idée exprimée par le verbe. *Nous fermons à fermeture*, c'est-à-dire, nous fermons soigneusement. Ce sens nous paraît suffisamment insinué par le contexte.

L. 26.—*Ina ṣummi la nimata*, littéralement, *nous ne mourrons pas de soif*, n'est pas une proposition cohortative, cela répugne au contexte; ni une proposition optative, il faudrait *lû la nimata*. C'est encore un moins une simple négation, elle serait absurde. C'est une proposition subordonnée à la précédente, sans autre lien extérieur que la juxtaposition. On veut dire: Il nous manque l'eau

de source qui, à défaut de celle du canal, nous empêcherait de mourir de soif ; de là notre traduction.

L. 35.—A la lettre : par une soif de non-main du roi, c'est-à-dire, une soif que nous inflige un subalterne, et non le roi.

L. 36.—*Nilli*, rac. . Voir Delitzsch, *Handw.*, p. 311, b.

Ll. 41, 42—Les Nipuriens sont censés regarder au ciel, soupirant après la pluie. La lettre doit avoir été écrite à la saison sèche.

XI

83-1-18, 39.—Harper, 345

MARDUK À KUGALZU

Ecriture babylonienne.

Un marchand de vin ou un vigneron babylonien s'excuse de n'avoir pas encore pu satisfaire son client.

RECTO



1. *Igirtu (h.) Mar-duk a-na*
2. *(h.) Ku-gal-zu ahi-šu (d) Bīl ū (d.) Nabu*
3. *šu-lum ša ahi-i liš-'a-lu*
4. *am-mi-ni (amil) mar šip-ri-ka*
5. *ul am-mar a-di a-na*
6. *Bar-sip(-ki) ir-ru-bu'*
7. *ki-i (amil) mar šip-ri-ka*
8. *am-ma-ru lip-[pu]-u (lib-[bu]-u ?)*
9. *(iṣ) karani*
10. *ta-šat-tu-u*
11. *lu XLI (karpat) šap-pa-ti*
12. *ah-u-a*

VERSO


13. *lu-ši-bi-li.*

(1) Lettre de Marduk à (2) Kugalzu son frère. Que Bīl et Nabu (3) souhaitent le salut de mon frère. (4-6) Pourquoi n'ai-je pas vu ton commissionnaire avant d'entrer à Barsip? (7-9) Si j'avais vu ton commissionnaire, tu boirais le produit de la vigne. (11-13) Que mon frère me fasse parvenir, soit quarante-et-une cruches (à remplir).

NOTES

L. 1.—, désigne certainement la lettre. La lecture *igirtu*, rend donc le sens. D'un autre côté, il est certain que  est un des idéogrammes de *duppu*, tablette, (Brunnow, 8360). On lit même *dup-pi* en tête de la petite tablette Harper, 229 (K. 1228), dans le contexte identique : *dup-pi Nirgal-našir ana Nabu-ušallim ahi-šu*, mais *dup-pi* est ici une restauration conjecturale.

L. 2.—*Ahu* est employé au sens figuré, dans les formules épistolaires, pour désigner des égaux.—Dans les lettres de Tell el-Amarna, nous avons vu (*Proceedings*, mars 1891, p. 227) les supérieurs et les inférieurs se donner respectivement les titres de pères et de fils. Le mot *abu* nous semble ainsi employé K. 1228 (Harper, 229), recto, ll. 2, 3, 5, 8.

Ll. 7-10.—*Lip-[pu]-u*. Les restes du second signe indiquent manifestement un .

Lippu karani, ou *libbu karani*, *genimen vitis* ou *cor vitis*, seraient des périphrases assez naturelles pour désigner le vin. Si le mot *lippu*, au lieu de se joindre à *karani* exprimait, un complément du verbe *ammaru*, il faudrait donner à *karani* le sens de vin, et traduire : “Si j'avais vu ton commissionnaire (dans telle ou telle condition), tu boirais du vin”.


On ne peut pas traduire *kî amaru* : *quand j'aurai vu*, parce que, d'après les trois dernières lignes, il est clair que Marduk a déjà reçu les ordres de Kugalzu, et qu'il n'attend plus le commissionnaire.


Sur l'importance de cette phrase au point de vue grammatical, voir No. X, note à la ligne 7.











CHRONOLOGICAL VALUE OF EGYPTIAN WORDS FOUND IN THE BIBLE.

BY F. LL. GRIFFITH.


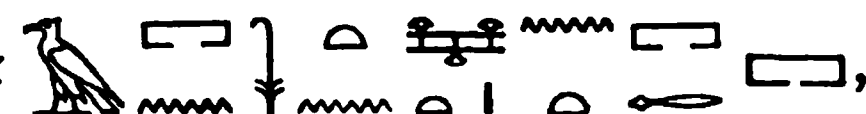
The Egyptian words which occur in the Hebrew Bible, few in number as they are, seem occasionally to supply a certain amount of evidence bearing on the age and composition of the texts containing them. At the suggestion of Professor Driver, I here offer as supplementary to my article "Pharaoh," in HASTING'S *Dictionary of the Bible*, a very brief historical account of the term  *Pr*·, as found in Egyptian documents, quoting chapter and verse for the references.

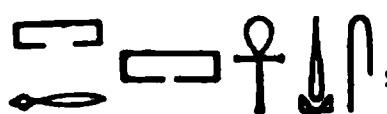
1. OLD KINGDOM.  *Pr*·, lit. "Great House," occurs in many titles: *hnt Pr*·, "garden of the Great House;" *smr Pr*·, "associate of the Great House" (courtier), etc., etc. In these cases the "Great House" might be interpreted as equivalent to the king himself, but I do not know of any text that at all necessitates this reading, and the use of the term in the Middle Kingdom clearly points to a signification nearer to the literal meaning, viz., "palace," "estate of the king," "the court."



2. MIDDLE KINGDOM. In papyri which represent the popular * idiom of the day we find the term used sparingly. In the Kahun Papyri (XIIth Dynasty) there is     (XVI, 30) in connection with cattle sent as  , "taxes," to the Great House.



In the XIIIth Dynasty papyrus, *Bulaq*, No. XVIII, we have  , in "provisions sent to the Great House" in the tabulated





* It is hardly necessary to mention that the history of the language is to be found, not in the formal inscriptions, but only in the texts which were written with great freedom. These are by no means numerous at any period except during the XIXth Dynasty, and afterwards in demotic.



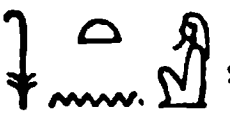




accounts (Pl. XXXIII, etc. See *Ä.Z.*, 1891, 108); , in "the Bull of Mōnth visited the Great House" (Pl. XXXIII, *ib.* 109); the same in "the court of the Great House" (Pl. XXVI, *ib.* 111); we have also * , "the gate of the king's walk in the Great House" (Pl. XXX, *ib.* 112). The last instance shows the primary meaning most clearly.

In the Westcar Papyrus, which is perhaps later still, we have , in "the lake of the Great House" (V, 2); and the "court of the Great House" (VIII, 10).



The determinative of a building, , is invariable in all these instances; and the term is always followed by the *vivat* , "Life, Prosperity, and Health!" given to kings and princes, except in the tabulated accounts of the Bulaq papyrus, where it is probably omitted only for the sake of brevity. Never at this time is the expression accompanied by the personal determinative.

3. NEW KINGDOM. In the XVIIIth Dynasty *Pr-* certainly denotes the king himself, as when the letter to Amenhetep IV (*Kah. Pap.*, Pl. XXXVIII) is addressed on the back to  "Pharaoh, Life, Prosperity, Health! the Master"; while  inside, the first three lines are occupied with the full names and titles of the king. Possibly earlier instances might be found in this dynasty of the application of the title to the person of the king.


In the XIXth Dynasty we find , "Pharaoh, Life, Prosperity and Health!" with the personal determinative of royalty , used as the regular appellative for the king in freely written texts (in New Egyptian), such as the Story of the Two Brothers (pp. 9, *et seqq.*), which was written in the reign of Rameses II. Here we have "Pharaoh's fullers," "Pharaoh went out," "Pharaoh said," etc., etc.; *hn-f*, "His Majesty (?)," and  *Tw*, "One" (with verbs), are the only common alternatives. But the ancient title , "king," is retained in the phrases "king's son," "king of Egypt," (Pl. XVIII).

4. DELTAIC PERIOD, etc. The next development is found in the XXIInd Dynasty. A stela from the Oasis of Dakhel, now in the Ashmolean Museum, is inscribed in hieratic with a date in the reign of one of the Shishaks* as follows: {  } 
 (*Rec. de Trav.*, XXI, 13), "Year 5, 16th day of Pharmuthi of the King Pharaoh (Life, Prosperity and Health!) Shishak (Life, Prosperity and Health!)." By this time therefore the use of the title "Pharaoh" in combination with the king's name had begun to creep in, the old title , "king" being still retained. This is the earliest instance as yet discovered, and unfortunately no papyri of the XXIInd Dynasty, other than religious, are known.† In the XXVth Dynasty legal documents begin again, and in papyri of the age of Tirhaka we find , "Pharaoh," without the *š'n*, preceding the king's name in the dates. (REVILLOUT and BOUDIER, *Quelques Textes Démotiques Archaiques*, Pap. 3228 of the Louvre.) Thenceforth, and to the end of the pagan period, kings—whether native, Persian, or Greek—and Roman emperors are all entitled "Pharaoh" in demotic. As in New Egyptian, the old title *š'n* still survived in a few set expressions and titles, "king's son," "king of Egypt" (more formal than "Pharaoh of Egypt"), etc.; but "His Majesty(?)" and all other expressions of that kind had quite given way to the simple "Pharaoh." That the demotic title is , , or in a cartouche  is assured, not only by the history of the word and its form in some of the earlier demotic writings, but also by parallel occurrences of the same in debased hieroglyphic of the period (e.g., *Ä.Z.*, XXXI, 94, XXVIth Dynasty), its correspondence

* Not necessarily Shishaq I, to whom it was attributed in my article: it might belong even to Sheshonq IV, last king of the dynasty, as was pointed out by its editor SPIEGELBERG.

† The doubling of the determinative  is due to the double , suggesting vaguely, and wrongly, a dual meaning. Such false writings are common in late hieratic.

‡ My attention has been drawn to a remark in Prof. Sayce's *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 228, which seems to imply that the Egyptians did not use the word "Pharaoh" apart from the name of the sovereign, or unless the king had already been mentioned by name. But this would seem to be contrary to the facts at all periods.

to  in the bilingual hieratic-demotic Rhind papyrus (BRUGSCH, *Zwei Bilingue Papyrus*, Pl. XXXIX, No. 240), etc.

The *y* of the ancient *Pr-* was gradually lost, and eventually the initial letter of the word $\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron$ was mistaken for the definite article π , so that the word for "king" in Coptic took the forms $\epsilon\rho\omicron$, $\rho\rho\omicron$, $\omicron\tau\rho\omega$ (STEINDORFF, *Ä.Z.*, 1889, 107). Even in an Old-Coptic text of the 2nd century A.D., of which a demotic equivalent is known, $\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron$ corresponds to the demotic group for "Pharaoh" preceded by the definite article, *p' Pr-* (*Khamuas*, p. 73, note 7).

In hieroglyphic inscriptions the old titles of the king were of course retained throughout the pagan period.

Turning now to examine the use of the term "Pharaoh" by the Biblical writers, we find that the earliest Egyptian sovereign whom the Bible mentions by name is "Shishak, king of Egypt," *i.e.*, Sheshonq I of the XXIIInd Dynasty. As we have seen, it was about this time that the Egyptians began to write "Pharaoh" before the name of their king, and to them the ruler in question was perhaps known as "Pharaoh Sheshonq." But we do not know whether the title was then so indissolubly joined to the name as seems to have been the case later.

Tirhaka, king of Ethiopia (XXVth Dynasty), is the next Egyptian ruler named in the Bible, where he is correctly called "king of Cush." He ruled the Egyptians perhaps by virtue of conquest only; nevertheless he was by them entitled "Pharaoh Taharqa."

"So king of Egypt" is probably Sibi, tartan of the Nabatean Misraim. See Winckler's articles referred to in the Dictionary, *sub voc.*

"Pharaoh-Necho" (Eg. *N-k'-w*) and "Pharaoh-Hophra" (Eg. (*H''-yb-R'*)) of the XXVIth Dynasty would have been named by the Egyptians of the time in precisely this way. Revillout catalogues a document at Paris * dated in the reign of Necho, whom we may be sure is there entitled "Pharaoh-Necho," just as his predecessor Psammetichus, and Amasis at the end of the dynasty are called *Per-'o Psmtk* and *Per-'o Ahmase* in all the many legal documents which have come down to us from these two reigns. The name "Pharaoh-Hophra" is found as yet only in a Ptolemaic (or Roman) papyrus

* *Notices des Pap. dém. archaïques*, No. 29.




at Vienna,* no contemporary demotic documents of his reign being known.

In hieroglyphic the kings continued to bear the old titles without the addition of "Pharaoh"; it seems pretty clear, however, that the speech of the period is represented in demotic, and in demotic the name of the king is inseparable from "Pharaoh."

The Greeks never borrowed the expression "Pharaoh" as did the Hebrews. The name *Φερων* (*Hdt.*, II, cxi) indeed is evidently the royal title, but the Hebrews adopted the term fully into their language, and "Pharaoh, king of Egypt" is a generic phrase for the king of Egypt in the mouth of the "rabshakeh" (2 Kings xviii, 21; Is. xxxvi, 6) and elsewhere. Also in biblical narratives, apart from the early historical chronicles of the kingdoms, every Egyptian king is called "Pharaoh" in the same way that an Egyptian story-teller of the period from the XIXth Dynasty onwards would have employed the term, even as the writer of the Story of the Two Brothers describes the doings of a certain "Pharaoh" without further specification.

So far as we know, the simple term "Pharaoh" was never adopted into any other language than the Hebrew, except through the latter.

Obviously the employment of the word "Pharaoh" is some indication of the age of the writings in which it occurs. In the article *Pharaoh* I have suggested some of these bearings: a biblical student could doubtless use them for more definite results.

In the same article for Hasting's *Dictionary* I referred to the word *יָרֵךְ* *Yē'ōr*, "river," used especially for the Nile and its branches and for the canals of Egypt. The Hebrew word is the exact equivalent in form of the Coptic *ειορ* : *ior*, "stream." The Egyptian word, *yr*, *y'r* for *yō'r* or *y'or*, "river," occurs commonly in demotic of the Ptolemaic and the Roman age. The word was originally , *ytr*, "river," just as *mtr.t*, "mid-day," is the origin of *ⲙⲉⲉⲣⲉ* (STEINDORFF, *Kopt. Gram.*, § 22). In late hieroglyphic  is found spelt  *y(w)r*, and

* BERGMANN, *Hieratische und Hierat.-dem. Inschriften*, Pl. XIII, l. 11. For the loan of this rare and valuable publication from the Landes-Bibliothek at Strassburg, I have to thank the good offices of Profs. Euting and Spiegelberg.

in that form was long ago recognized as the origin of the word in the Hebrew.* Perhaps other students may think it worth while to find out how far back a spelling without the Δ can be traced. Certainly it occurs in the time of Alexander II, and in all probability could be quoted from the Saite period, if not earlier. In Egyptian the living form of the word was only too often concealed under an old spelling; one cannot therefore lay stress on רִי as a test of date until its Egyptian history has been very fully investigated. The employment of רִי in the prophetic books implies that the word is not of very late origin: its absence from the historical books outside Genesis and Exodus, may perhaps be due only to the rarity of references to Egypt in them.†

In a special article for the *Dictionary of the Bible*, I have also briefly dealt with the remarkable choice by Ezekiel of the name Syene, *Swm*, $\text{CO}\text{V}\text{A}\text{N}$, instead of the old name *Yb*, for Elephantine.

12, HARVEY ROAD,

CAMBRIDGE,

February 14th, 1901.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

It may possibly interest the readers of the *Proceedings* to call attention to a passage which has some points of connexion with Dr. Gaster's *Wisdom of the Chaldeans* (*Proc.*, XXII, 9, p. 339).

The passage I mean occurs in the Homily *De Magis, Incantoribus et Divinis*, ascribed in MSS. to S. Ephraim and edited as his by Lamy (vol. ii, col. 393-426), but which in my opinion is more likely to have been the work of Isaac of Antioch (*circ.* 450 A.D.). In this Homily the writer complains that his fellow-Christians, even the clergy, resorted to Magicians *and Jews*.

He says (col. 395): "Instead of the blessings of the Saints, lo, they carry about the incantations of the magicians, and instead of the holy cross, lo, they carry the books of devils One carries it on his head, and another round his neck, and a child, who

* CHABAS, *Pap. magique Harris* (1860), p. 104.

† See the Oxford Hebrew Dictionary, with its references for the word

knows nothing at all, carries about devils' names and comes (to church). It is not that Satan is bold and comes upon them by force, but they go and bring him—by force, though he wishes not; and they enter and say in the church, 'Deliver us, O Lord, from the Evil One!' But the Evil One is round their necks, and yet they beg for deliverance.

"The names of two angels are in the Old Testament and in the New, the names of Gabriel and of Michael, the ministers of fire and spirit; and the great vision of Daniel by these two was explained. But polluted and abominable priests take refuge in the names of demons; *Rufael* and *Rafufael*, the ministers of the devil, lo, their encomium is set in the book of the Church, the Bride of the Messiah! May Rufael be cursed, and Rafufael with all his comrades, and may Tertius with all his crew go down to the utmost bounds of the earth!"

Tertius (ܬܪܬܝܘܣ) is perhaps a mistake in the Syriac for *Tartarus* (ܬܪܬܪܘܣ), but it seems to me that *Rufael* (ܠܪܘܬܐܝ) and *Rafufael* (ܠܪܘܬܐܝܐ) are really the angels Raphael and Raḥabiel mentioned in Dr. Gaster's MS. The author of the Homily may not have quite known how to spell the names of these occult beings, or their names may have varied a little from time to time.

The real interest of the Homily to us is that it shews a phase of the fight between Christianity and Magic, and the curious connexion which existed in some places between the magicians and the Jews. The Homilist, in fact, classes them together. "He that eateth with magicians shall not eat the body of our Lord; and he that drinketh with enchanters shall not drink the blood of the Messiah; and he that eateth with Jews shall not inherit life eternal. These three factions shall all be fuel for the fire; and he which is joined with them, with them doth inherit Gehenna, Jews and magicians together in company with Satan their master!"

With apologies for the ferocity of the extracts which I have brought to your notice,

I remain,

Yours very truly,

F. C. BURKITT.

W. H. RYLANDS, ESQ.


MR. WARD'S COLLECTION OF SCARABS.


(Continued from p. 34.)

In my opinion Dr. Petrie proves his case. No doubt Mycenaean art got its earliest types of decoration from Egypt, and it has been possible to fix its date from the scarabs found in Schliemann's excavations. This Mycenaean ornament is in many cases identical with that of Egypt, produced more than a thousand years before. That Greek decorative art had thus its origin in Egypt seems clearly proved.

But when scroll ornament was first used as the system of decoration of scarabs (undoubtedly religious symbols), on which so much care was lavished, it is unlikely that the artist had no idea beyond mere meretricious ornament. For the scarab was a sacred object, not a trivial thing to be used as a bauble, or only for the fancy or caprice of female personal adornment. It is much more likely that these involved scrolls and twists were a secret form of religious symbols, a sacred writing whose clue is lost but may one day be re-discovered. These scarabs were worn during life, and buried with their owners, male and female, as precious relics to be used again in that future state of existence to which all ancient Egyptians believed they had a surety. I feel certain that this lost language may be yet readable. Not a long time since, hieroglyphs were unintelligible; now they are read like print. Therefore I believe the clue to the meaning of the old interlaced scrollwork will yet be found, and I advise everyone who visits Egypt, to collect and preserve every scarab with such patterns that they may meet on their travels. And so, therefore, I have illustrated all my scarabs of this class, believing that the lost key to this mystery will be found some day.

114. "*Sam*" symbol of union (with Nile plants) of the two lands.
XII DYNASTY.

300. Ditto  surrounded by border of double spirals.

512. Vertical lines connected by spirals surrounding  signs.

471. Twelve spirals, all connected by lines; well cut, green steatite.

445. Connected spirals in pairs,  in centre; green glazed steatite.

433. Border of continuous broken spirals. Cartouche in centre,
RA EN RA? See 392 and 421 (Plates IX and XVI).
Unplaced. Back engraved with a lotus flower.



















299. Bold ingenious scroll pattern, broken spirals.
385. Symmetrical spiral pattern, with  in centre, and  on each side.
483. Well cut border of broken spiral pattern, surrounding  in cartouche, with  above. Unread. Scarab well formed.
208. Scroll patterns, two eyes, and  in centre.
44. Peculiar scroll pattern, two , well cut, green tint.
106. Cross with four spirals, boldly cut.
38. Broken spirals connected, surrounding  nefer, "*beautiful*."
45. Ditto, Ditto, Ditto  , "*most beautiful*."
40. Four double scrolls all connected around  in centre.
RA NEFER. (There was a king of this name).
116. Double scroll between two  nefers.
497. Continuous scroll pattern surrounding  nefer sign, "*beautiful*."
11. Continuous spiral, flower above,  in centre. RA NEFER.
333. Strange involved scroll design, enclosing ornamental panels.
477. Six double spirals, two of them ending with flowers.
223. Fine scroll pattern of most ingenious design.
121. Two scrolls between  and , ankh, nefer.
496. Lotus flower rising out of scrolls,  above.
411. Lotus flower with bud on either side ; well cut.
415. Ornamental floral design.
60. Four-lobed flower.
283. Group of three lotus flowers ; back of cowroid shape.



PLATE XII.



SCROLLS, SPIRAL ORNAMENT, HIEROGLYPHS (continued).


211. Curious vague spiral pattern, with two unknown symbols.
335. Seven annulets, possibly the planets, connected with lines.

352. Twisted border, surrounding peculiar hieroglyphic signs.


130. Curious scroll pattern rising from  neb, "lord,"  ka in centre. The back represents a hedgehog.




495. Interlaced design, typical of union.  ankh, "life," and  neb, "lord," at each side. Unread.

482. Hawk, with crown of Lower Egypt. Crowned uræus opposite and the feather of Maat, "Truth," behind.  dat, "strength," above, with  ankh, "life," at each side. Well cut continuous scroll border around all. The beetle is beautifully cut, and the whole perfect as when made. Green steatite.

6. Hard stone. Endless scroll border, around  Sa Amen, "Son of Amen."

92. Cowroid. Interlacing pattern.

84, 85. Scarabs with roughly cut twisted patterns,  at each side.






39. Elongated scroll border surrounding    RA DAD ANKH, &c.

380. Scroll ornamental design. (The beetle's legs pierced.)

48. Cowroid. Complicated scroll occupying the whole field, resembling two lotus flowers.


457. Cowroid. Three double spirals, boldly cut.



377. Large cowroid, boldly cut. Double uræi above and below.

Horizontal twist pattern in centre. Above it   , and beneath it   dotted border.

13, 338, 302. Ornamental designs typical of union.

458. Hathor head in centre. Ends filled in with water plants.

387. Two spiral designs. In centre cartouches with  connected by a band.

448. In centre  ankh, "life."  nefer at each side.

57. Four discs of concentric circles down each side laced together by a central plait.




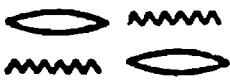









- 332.** Double scroll ornaments, connecting two  signs. Water plants at side, rising out of  signs.
- 461.** Three concentric circles,  sign, "*a gift*," at each corner, with  between. Unread.
- 420.** Sacred eye in relief on back, on front   "*golden life*."
- 503.** Border of ten discs. In centre, six hieroglyphs, peculiar signs
- 35.** Border of discs, within, cryptogram of   and water plants.
- 27.** Ten annulets.
- 456.** Elaborate text in curious minute hieroglyphs.

PLATE XIII.

FIGURES, ANIMALS, HIEROGLYPHS, &c.

Many genuine scarabs bear devices which cannot (as yet) be understood, but light may be thrown upon them any day, and all had undoubtedly their clear significations for their original makers and owners; therefore all are worthy of illustration, though at present we can only speculate as to their meaning and date. These small ancient relics are mostly obtained from the Arab tomb-robbers, who never can be relied on to tell the truth as to their provenance. It is only when *savants*, such as Dr. Petrie, open fresh unviolated cemeteries, that their place of origin can be known with certainty. This frequently gives the date or a clue to it, though an experienced eye will often judge correctly by the style and quality of the work, or the form of the hieroglyphs in use at certain periods. Plates XIII–XV give illustrations of figures, animals, devices and inscriptions, some of which are intelligible, others mysterious, but in some way interesting. No attempt has been made to arrange them according to date.


- 504.** Sphinx with obelisk opposite and winged uræus above; below, *Kheper* with expanded wings and uræus on either side.
- 103.** Griffon with "*pschent*," uræus in front.
- 508.** "*Khnum*," ram, uræus above.
- 120.** Couchant cow,  and  signs.
- 334.**    signs.

320. *Obv.*, sphinx, winged uræus above, ♀ in front. *Rev.*, man adoring ♀. Sacred boat with ☉ above.
70. Cowroid. Fish with two lotuses in its mouth.
248. "Uzat," sacred eye, in relief on back. On front ☾ ♀ ☾ (?), "Lord of life" (?). Mounted in its ancient gold ring.
424. On cartouche-shaped base, two lions and, across, at their tails, a third animal. Face inscribed with a cartouche under each lion, filled in with ♂ ♀ respectively. Pierced. Very curious. Green glazed steatite.
506. Lion seated, looking back. Uræus in front. Plant over back of animal.
431. *Obv.*, cuneiform ornament, two uræi below. *Rev.*, design of uræi (similar to No. 412, Plate XIV), fine work. Flat green bead.
71. Sphinx, passant, ☉ above it, figure of deity ♂ before.
339. Remarkable rectangular bead, steatite, with green grounding, engraved in *intaglio* on *obv.* and *rev.*, and in *relief* on four edges. *Obv.*, war-god Reshpu, with spear and mace; smaller figure opposite with ☉ ♂ above; nub ♂ "golden," underneath. *Rev.*, same figures with a third one, king crowned, for Lower Egypt. Various hieroglyphs. On edges: (1) ♂ griffin hunting antelope ♂, (2) ♀ lion hunting oryx ♂, (3) kneeling figure with bird's head and fish's tail ♂ and ♂, (4) ♂ ♀ ♂ ♀. Good work, especially fine on edges. No explanation has been found for this fine specimen, which is unique. *From Sakkarah or Dahshûr.* Dr. Petrie thinks it shows Assyrian influence.

XVIIITH DYNASTY, or earlier, beautifully executed.

- 150. Amulet in form of a hare, crocodile on base. Green glazed steatite.**

- ### 97. Early scarab with strange inscription—


 Unread (compare No. 99, Plate XV).

- 314.** Bead of greenish glass or stone. *Obv.*, ibis-headed lion crowned with crescent and disc. Hawk above. *Rev.*,



- 351.** Blue glazed steatite. Dotted border and repeated (*cf.* 314 and 329).

- 22.** Hawk, between uræus and .

- 290.** Crowned hawk with flail, uræus and .

- 452.** Hawk with flail, &c., well cut, green glazed steatite.

- 440.** *Obv.*, well carved head of Bes in bold relief. *Rev.*, design similar to 412 and 431.

- 281.** Well cut little scarab, Hare running.

- 449.** Well cut little scarab, , blue glazed steatite "*Herp*;" possibly a name.

- 102.** Curious inscription. seshem amakh?

- 319.** Sphinx, solar disc, and oval of cartouche. Below "Amen Ra," and peculiar sign under.

- 463.** Three barks, one below another. In top, hawk and uræus, in middle one, two hawks and solar disc; in lowermost one, ditto. Curious.

- 209.** Early scarab; may be a king's name.

- 123.** God, papyrus sceptre, and .

PLATE XIV.

FIGURES, ANIMALS, HIEROGLYPHS, &c. (continued).






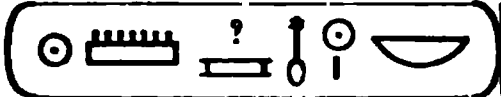





- 273.** Outspread hand. Unknown sign; early scarab.

- 476.** Seated female figure before a leaf or shade.

- 33.** Figure with uræi, and "lord."


- 434.** Woman worshipping an obelisk, two between below .

- 148.** Blue glazed bead. Hathor head between two uræi.

90. Jackal passant, uræus in front.
78. Bes between adorning cynocephali and solar discs.
111. King before a deity.
172. King on throne, in sacred boat. Behind him, winged figure, uræus before, &c.
312. Rude scarab,   . Unread.
327. Figure with *uast* sceptre. Maat, goddess of truth, *haq* sceptre, and feather of truth.
407. Fine open work pottery (?) amulet; blue glaze, good work. *Obv.*, God Khonsu, seated, holding *uast* sceptre. *Rev.*, King standing opposite his cartouche, with signs  and , below  nub, "golden." The cartouche is inscribed , but has not yet been identified. At the sides serpents are depicted in pierced open work. Remarkable specimen, and of good execution.)
166. Rude engraving of king in his chariot; ☉   above (?).
341. King, with flail and *haq* sceptre   neter nefer, "good lord," opposite, borne on a portable throne on shoulders of four soldiers. (A representation of Horemheb, XVIIIth DYNASTY, engraved on a tomb, is almost the same as this in design, so this may be of Horemheb's time, but looks earlier.
93. Large coarse work. Papyrus sceptre between ANUBIS and (?) below the crocodile, SEBEK.
353. Lioness, uræus, and unknown signs.
168. Seated king (or deity) receiving subject,
409. *Obv.*, Lion and solar disc. *Rev.*, uræus, and .
509. Cowroid, curious figure holding serpents (?), scales on lower part of body. Uræus before him.
323. Hawk-headed figure holding uræus; disc and serpent above.
175. Hawk-headed (RA) with sceptre, uræus, &c.; on back, sitting ape, in relief, bright green tint.
30. Cynocephalus ape adoring, between two uræi, coarse work.

288. Ox or buffalo,  above.

397.      . Amen-Ra, lord, with sign of a town.


163, 164, 165. These three were bought together, and evidently belonged to one person ; there are two lions and a man on each, the characters  &c., are very rude.

62. Squatting cynocephalus ape on stele-shaped bead. On front, Ptah, in shrine with *uast* sceptre, uræus, &c.

379. King between two deities, rude work,  under.

507. Hawk with wings outstretched, over      AMEN-RA.

412. Squatting ape, eating, in relief. On front four uræi cruciform, as in 381 and 431.

167. Maat, the goddess of truth, between her feather,  Ra and uræus.

472. , two  and crown of Lower Egypt.

PLATE XV.

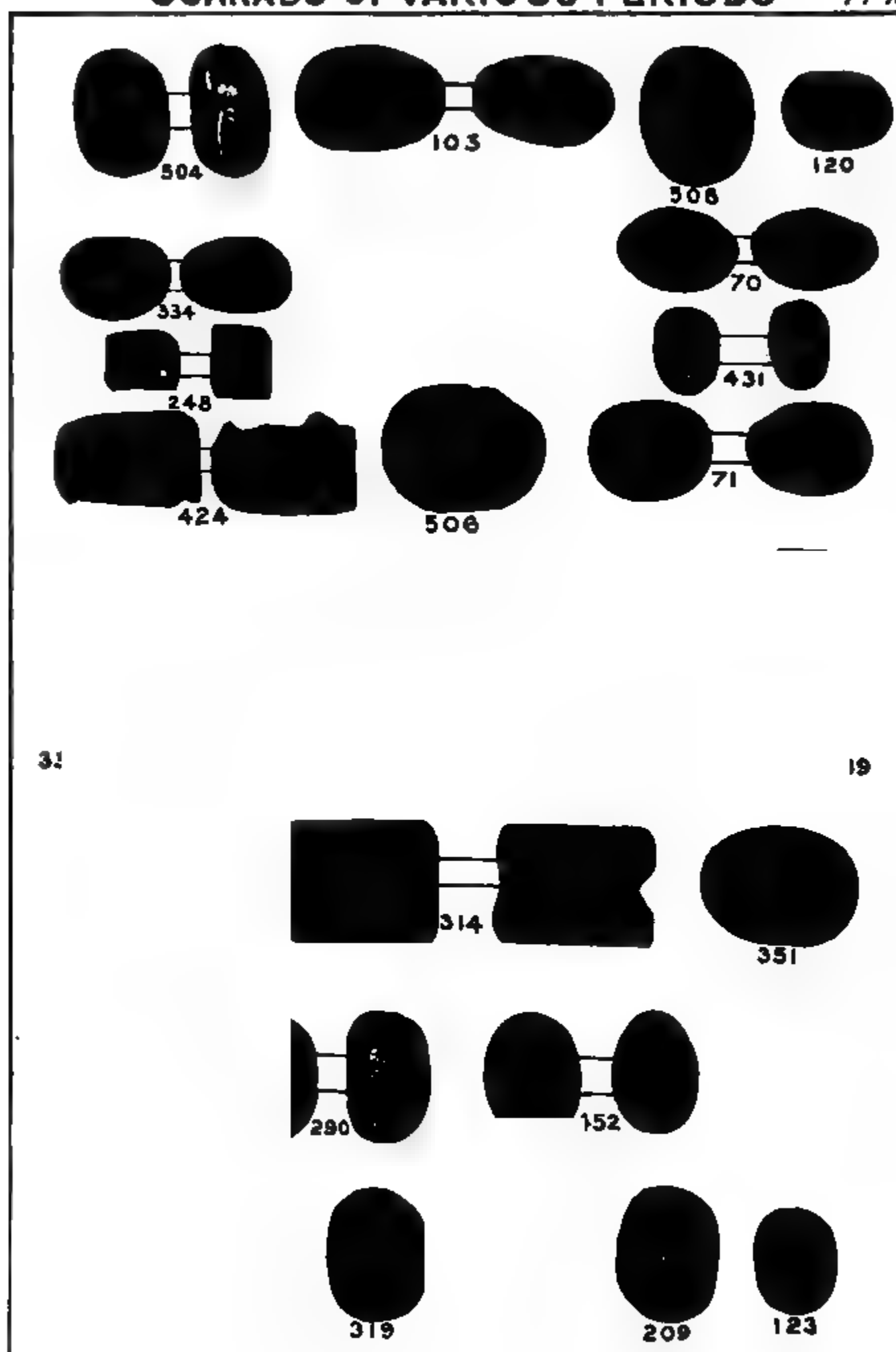
FIGURES, ANIMALS, HIEROGLYPHS, &c. (continued).

494. Sphinx and peculiar signs,     underneath.

475.                                     

SCARABS OF VARIOUS PERIODS

P/ XIII



Figures, Animals, Hieroglyphs &c.

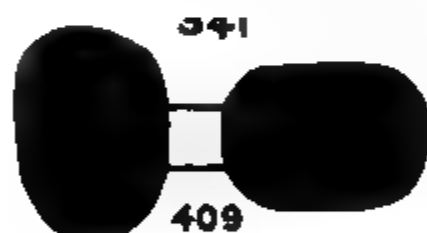
SCARABS OF VARIOUS PERIODS *Pl XIV*



...

327

166



323

321

164

165



379

507

167

472

Figures. Animals. Hieroglyphs &c

SCARABS OF VARIOUS PERIODS

Pl XV



423



105



21

220

Figures Animals. Hieroglyphs &c.

CYLINDERS OF VARIOUS PERIODS

Pl. XII.

NEFER AR KA RA

XII

V

AMENEMHAT I.

XII

314

XII

USERTESEN III.

513

349

XVIII



231


421

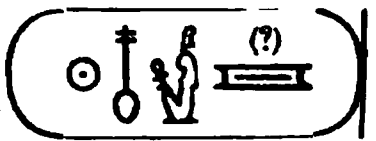
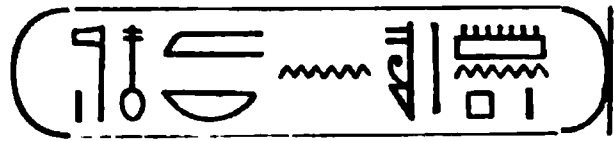
AMENHOTEP I.


XVIII

XVIII

TUT ANKH AMEN



405. Cartouche  HA MAAT, with feather of truth and uræus at each side, good work.



99. Double cartouche  and  unread (*cf.* 97, Plate XIII).

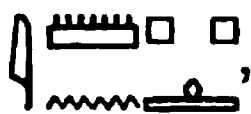
15. Crocodile, above oryx bound as a victim, two nefer  signs.



418. Cowroid, well cut, winged uræus with  and .

170. Oryx bound, serpent above, tortoise. Curious.

423. *Back*, sacrificial calf, bound, boldly modelled. *Face*, water plants, below monogram of  and .


460. , Ankh, "life," with outspread wings on either side,  below.

329. , and  repeated, possibly AMENHOTEP, blundered.

105. Large flat bead, much worn. Two uræi on each side.  and . Coarse.


384. Two cynocephalus apes and unknown symbol in centre.



318. Uræus, disc, and serpent,  with  above.

289. , with flowering plant below.


453. Cowroid, red paste. Observe signs on back, , &c.

72. Pottery seal, , &c. Coarse work.

393.  Amen-Ra nefer ankh.

307. The Sun with his boat, , the goddess of truth,  "beauty."

135. Well-cut plaque. *Obv.* , *rev.* , unread.

149. Fragment of a seal of Thebes,  "Ypt·yst," a name of the city.

347. The sun in his boat , unread.

21. Cynocephalus crowned with lunar crescent, symbol of THOTH,


, *uast* sceptre.

PLATE XVI.

CYLINDERS OF VARIOUS PERIODS.

Cylinders were in use in Egypt in very early times, but soon were given up for scarabs. In the XVIIITH DYNASTY they seem to have come again into fashion, for a short time only. But they never came much into use, and are rarely found in Egypt. They seem to have been used as seals, for which purpose they are admirably adapted. Indeed, it is strange such a convenient form of sealing, making an unlimited repetition of the device, ever went out of use, and it would be well worth introducing into modern business usages. I have, in regard to the ten cylinders shown on Plate XVI, given impressions of each. It is wonderful to see how sharp these are, from signets which left the engraver's hands so many thousand years ago.

331. NEFER · AR · KA · RA, VTH DYNASTY (3680–3660 B.C.). This king appears in the "List" of Manetho as NEFER KHERES, and also on the monuments. He reigned, we are told, twenty years. We know he had a pyramid, for THY, whose fine tomb is one of the sights of Sakkarah, tells us he was keeper of it, and we know of eleven other priests of his cult. But this pyramid has not yet been identified, and there is only one object of his reign now known—the cylinder engraved on Plate XVI. There was one in the Cairo Museum, but it was different from this, and it disappeared during the troubled time of 1878. So the one now shown is a unique relic. His pyramid was known as "BA," and it is supposed to be one of those at Abusir. This group of pyramids should be properly investigated by Dr. Petrie, who made the splendid survey of the Ghizeh pyramid field, his first great work in Egypt, but no scientific research of the other pyramids has ever been made yet.

The cylinder is composed of a beautiful bit of almost transparent steatite, and is very clearly engraved. The royal cartouche,  NEFER · AR · KA · RA, being very distinct.

The remainder of the inscription on the cylinder is "Hen neter Hathor ra neb," "*Priest of Hathor daily*," and "Mery neteru Ra neb," "*Beloved of the gods every day*."

Some savants believe that this king's second name was KA KAY, by which title he is known on the tablet of Abydos; but this requires further proof, which the discovery of his pyramid would elucidate.

A thousand years and more lie between this rare cylinder and my next specimen.

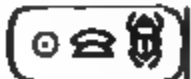
365. AMENEMHAT I (XIIth DYNASTY, 2778-2748 B.C.). A cylinder of globular form. This is curious, being a natural nodule of flint, with a perforation through it, by which it can revolve on a spindle. It is coated naturally with a skin of lime, and through this the ancient engraver has cut the

king's cartouche  AMENEMHAT. The meaning of AMENEMHAT is "*Amen to the front*."



AMENEMHAT, in his later years associated his son USERTESEN with him as co-regent. He reigned with his father ten years, and afterwards for thirty-three years he reigned alone as USERTESEN I. This fine portrait is to be seen at University College, and is the one referred to on page 310. The likeness is beautifully carved, and seems to speak. Dr. Petrie discovered it at Koptos.

Scarabs of USERTESEN I (53 and 216), who ruled as co-regent, are shown on Plate I.




344 is a unique cylinder bearing the throne title of USERTESEN II (XIIth DYNASTY, 2684-2600 B.C.),

, KHA·KHEPER·RA, "*Shines forth the form of Ra*."


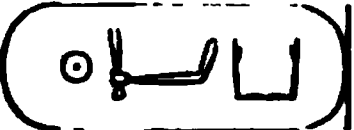

USERTESEN I.
Reigned with Amenemhat I.


But this cylinder must really be of later date, that of this king's grandson, AMENEMHAT III (2622-2578 B.C.), for the cartouche of this later ruler is found beside the other one. His throne name was  MAAT EN RA, "*belonging to the truth of Ra.*" The inscription above the cartouches reads , Sa · ra neter nefer neb, "*Son of the Sun, the good Lord God.*"

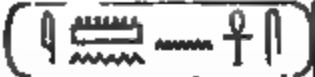
It is possible that this seal was the sign-manual of the government of the Fayum Province. These two kings were buried there in the pyramids made to commemorate their great drainage works, which had given another province to Egypt.

513. Another unique cylinder, USERTESEN III, XIITH DYNASTY, (2660-2622 B.C.). Above, it has almost the same inscription as on the last cylinder— "*Son of the Sun, good Lord,*" but below it displays the two cartouches of USERTESEN III—viz.,  KHA · KAU RA, and the second royal cartouche  USERTESEN.

Another thousand years, and we find two cylinders of the XVIIITH DYNASTY.


231. AMENHOTEP I, XVIIITH DYNASTY (1562-1541 B.C.), the inscription being  NUB NEFERUI UAS, "*The beautiful golden sceptre,*"—and the king's prenomen ZESER. KA · RA  "*Sacred is the Ka of Ra,*" with  added. This is a beautiful blue seal, well cut.

373 is another cylinder of AMENHOTEP I, with the same cartouche, and the inscription repeated, with  and uræi. It is beautifully cut, but does not give a sharp impression, as the engraving is filled up with blue enamel or paint.

297 is a cylinder of  ANKH · S · EN · AMEN, wife of TUT · ANKH AMEN, XVIIIth DYNASTY. She was daughter of AHMENHOTEP IV, who nearly destroyed Egypt by his attempt to force a new and purer religion on the old country.

Then follow three cylinders whose dates have not been ascertained yet.

349. Figures of uræus, and a man with sceptre or serpent.

421. Curious early cylinder, two scrolls running lengthwise, and between them  RA EN RA repeated. I have in my collection several scarabs with signs resembling this inscription. All may belong to one unplaced king. (Cf. No. 392, Plate IX, and No. 433, Plate XI).

388. Hexagonal cylinder, period unknown, obscure inscription.

350. Part of the handle of a sistrum, inscribed—



Seten dy hotep neb
neteru. "*May the
king give an offering
and the lord of the
gods.*"

(and on the other
side)—



zed mdwt yn Bast,
"*Speech of Bast.*"

the "speech" referring, doubtless, to the sweet music of the instrument.

298. Long blue stone bead, inscribed as a badge or official seal



net uast, "*City of Thebes.*"



impression—

The Portraits have been kindly lent by Dr. Petrie and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.)

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday, March 13th, 1901, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Papers will be read :—

PROF. SAYCE (*President*): “Notes.”

A. BOISSIER: “Documents Assyriens relatifs à la Magie.”



PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-FIRST SESSION, 1901.

Third Meeting, 13th March, 1901.

DR. M. GASTER

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—George St. Clair; the Myths of Greece explained and dated. 2 vols. 8vo. 1901.

From the Author, Sir H. H. Howorth:—The Early History of Babylonia: IV. The Earliest Semites. *English Historical Review*. January, 1901.

From the Publishers, Luzac and Co.:—An Egyptian Calendar for the Koptic Year 1617 (1900–1901, A.D.), etc. By Roiand L. N. Michell, B.A. London. 8vo. 1900.

The following candidate was elected a Member of the Society, having been nominated in February :

Rev. Henry Cart, Incumbent of Berkeley Chapel, Mayfair.

The Most Hon. the Marquess of Northampton, Castle Ashby, Northampton, was elected a Member of the Society, and a Vice-President.

The following candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting on May the 8th.

Herbert Thompson, 35, Wimpole Street, W.

William Hoyt Worrell, Michigan University.

The following Papers were read by the Secretary :—

PROF. SAYCE (*President*) : "Notes."

Remarks were added by Miss Ingram, Mr. John Tuckwell, and the Chairman.

A. BOISSIER : "Assyrian Documents Relating to Magic."

Remarks were added by Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, the Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, Miss Ingram, the Secretary and the Chairman.

The thanks of the Meeting were returned for these communications.

NOTES ON—(1) THE HYKSOS;
 (2) THE HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS;
 (3) THE ARZAWA LETTERS;
 (4) KANDAULES OF LYDIA.


BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE (*President*).

(I.) I have recently been looking at Mr. Willoughby Fraser's copies of the scarabs of the so-called Khiyan group, most of which were obtained by him from Tel el-Yahudiya, and the result has been to convince me that he is right in grouping them all together. We cannot place some of them in the period between the VIth and the XIth dynasties and others in the age of the Hyksos. They must all belong to the same epoch.


The names found upon them are as follows: (1) Mâ-ab-Ra ("good god"), (2) Ra-khâ-user ("good god"), (3) Ra-skhâ-âa ("good god"), (4) Ra-âa-hotep ("good god"), (5) Ra-ah-arp (?) ("good god"), (6) Uazd ("good god"), (7) Ya'qub-el Ra-mer-user ("good god, son of the Sun"), (8) Shesha ("son of the Sun"), (9) Nebi ("son of the Sun"), (10) Âmu ("good god, son of the Sun"), (11) Khiyan Suser-n-Ra ("son of the Sun, good god"), (12) Khiyan ("hiq Setu"), (13) Ânati-el ("hiq Setu"), (14) Semqen ("hiq Setu"), (15) (Apopi) Ra-âa-user ("son of the Sun"). The scarabs of the last king differ from the others in style, and show some resemblance to those of Ka-n-Ra, who is probably to be identified with the Ka-n-Ra of the VIIth dynasty mentioned in the Tablet of Abydos. That Khiyan is the Hyksos Pharaoh Iannas of Manetho is now generally recognised; the only question is whether the Pharaoh Khiyan User-n-Ra is the same as Khiyan the "hiq Setu" or "prince of the (eastern) mountains."

The name of Shesha was long read Pepi, thus throwing the group of scarabs to which his belong into the age of the VIth dynasty. Mr. Griffith first pointed out the true reading of the name, which has been confirmed by fresh examples of the king's scarabs which have since come to light. Now on the analogy of names like Kheti,

which appears as Akhthoes in Manetho, Shesha would have to be Assi-s in Greek, and Assis is one of the Hyksos kings! This seems to settle the place of the whole group of the Pharaohs to which the scarabs of Shesha belong. They all alike must be assigned to the Hyksos dynasties.

My reading of Yâqb-hl as Yâ'qub-el is verified by Mr. Fraser's scarab with the new name of Ânt-hl, that is to say 'Anati-el. The representation of the Semitic *aleph* by the Egyptian  at this period must have been due to Babylonian influence in the West.* A Canaanite or Syrian of the name of Anati is mentioned in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Winckler, 125, 43), and the father of Shamgar was Anath according to Judg. iii, 31. Ya'qub-el and similar West Semitic names occur in Babylonian contracts of the time of Khammurabi. Mr. Tomkins long ago proved in the *Academy* (Sept. 1, 1889) that Khiyan is the Khayanu of the Assyrian inscriptions, a name borne by two Semitic Syrian princes in the age of Assurnazir-pal.

I find it difficult to believe that the Pharaoh Khiyan is identical with the *hiq Setu*, whose name is always written differently from that of the Pharaoh on the scarabs. As there were three Hyksos dynasties, it is quite possible that there were two princes of the name. This would account for the confusion there is between the Hyksos kings of the XVth and of the XVIIth dynasties in the excerpts from Manetho, the Khiyan or Iannas of the one dynasty being confounded with the Iannas of the other, and the copyists of Manetho accordingly jumping from the first three to the last three Hyksos Pharaohs. The double names Khiyan User-n-Ra, Ya'qub-el Ra-mer-user and Apopi Ra-âa-user indicate that the Egyptian names (Ra-khâ-user, etc.) were the throne-names of princes whose native names we do not know, while names like Shesha and Nebi were native.

The fact that Ya'qub-el and Khiyan are West Semitic leads us to expect that the other native names associated with them are West Semitic also. Shesha I would connect with the Canaanitish Sheshai (Judg. i, 10), Nebi is Nabhî "the speaker," while we have Âmu in Ammi-el, Ammi-nadab, and the Babylonian Khammu-rabi and Ammi-zaduq. A cuneiform tablet states that among the Shuhites Nergal (?) was called Emu (W.A.I. II, 54, 63). Cp. also the South Arabian  (Arabic 'ammi) "paternal uncle." Uazd has a South Arabian

* *Aleph* and *hē* are represented in Assyrian by the same characters, while *h* sometimes takes the place of *aleph*.

rather than a Canaanitish appearance, and Semqan is puzzling. As for Apopi, one of the Babylonian names on the obelisk of Manistusu recently published by Dr. Scheil (*de Morgan: Delegation en Perse*, II, p. 30) is that of Apupu the son of Imi-el. If we accept von Gutschmid's reading, Bnôn instead of Bêôn, for the name of the second Hyksos king, we should have parallels to it in the Hebrew Ben-Oni and the Canaanitish Ben-ana of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Winckler, 125, 37).

I am much inclined to believe that the Hyksos invasion of Egypt was due to the same movement as that which brought about the conquest of Babylonia by the South Arabian (or Canaanitish) dynasty of Šumu-abi and Khammurabi. The name of Ya'qub-el is characteristic of the period of the Khammurabi dynasty, and that relations existed at the time between Babylonia and Egypt is verified by a contract tablet in the possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney, one of the parties to which bears the Egyptian name of Tetu, while the Egyptian hieroglyph *nefer* is added at the end of the contract apparently in the sense of "all right!" On a seal-cylinder, published by Dr. Scheil (*Recueil de Travaux*, XIX, p. 53), a Babylonian calls himself the servant of "the god Anupu" or Anubis. We must not forget, moreover, that the Phœnicians asserted that they had migrated from the Persian Gulf, though this would have been at an earlier epoch than the age of Khammurabi. As the first two kings of the dynasty were called Šumu-abi or Šamu-abi, "the (god) Shem is my father," and Šumu-la-ilu, "is not Shem the god?" we may conclude that they regarded Shem as their patron deity, in other words that they were Shemites. In the Old Testament, it will be remembered, Shem is the ancestor not only of the Hebrews, but also of the South Arabians as well (Gen. x, 25-30).

The title *hiq setu* "prince of the mountains" would have been *malik sadi* in Babylonian, *sadi* signifying at once "mountain" or "mountains" and "east." The Semitic chieftain Abisha, to whom it is first applied (at Beni-Hassan), is called simply *hiq set* "prince of the mountain (-region)", *i.e.* "prince of the east." The name of the first Hyksos king appears as Salatis and Sa[l]ites in the copyists of Manetho; this has often been identified with the Hebrew *shallîṭ*, which is the title of Joseph in Gen. xlii, 6, and it seems to me possible that it was the Semitic equivalent of the Egyptian *hiq*. If the form of the name of the third Hyksos king given by Africanus (Pakhnan) is right, we might have in the names of the first three

Hyksos Pharaohs merely appellatives: (1) Salatis "the prince," (2) Bnôn "the Onite" (of Heliopolis), and (3) Pa-Kana'n "the Canaanite."


(II.) I can throw some more light on the position of the city of Arina or Arinna, mentioned in the treaty between Ramses II and the Hittites as well as in the list of towns discovered by M. Chantre at Boghaz Keui (see *P.S.B.A.*, June, 1899). It is also mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser I; he says (*W.A.I.* I, 13, 67): "To conquer the land of Muzri (the borderland between Cilicia and Northern Syria) Asur the lord urged me, and between the mountains of Elamuni, Tala and Kharuša I marched. I conquered the land of Muzri throughout its circuit, I massacred their warriors. The cities I burned with fire, I threw down, I dug up. The armies of the land of Qumani (Comana) had gone to the help of the land of Muzri. On a mountain I fought with them. A destruction of them I made. To a single city, Arini, at the foot of Mount Aiša, I drove and shut them up. My feet they took. The city itself I spared." Tiglath-pileser then goes on to say that he defeated 20,000 of the troops of Qumani on Mount Tala and pursued them "as far as Mount Kharuša which is in front of the land of Muzri." Then he captured and destroyed the city of Khunuša, erecting on its site a house of brick and a bronze plate on which a record of his victories was inscribed. After this Kipsuna the "royal city" of Qumani was besieged and taken.*





This account makes it clear that Arina, "at the foot of Mount Aiša," was in the district called Kammanu by the later Assyrian kings, and on the border of the territory of the Cappadocian Comana. It must therefore have stood somewhere in the neighbourhood of the modern Yarpuz to the east of the Sarus. It is perhaps Arnê, which Shalmaneser II makes the capital of the Hittite prince Aramê, son of Agusi.




(III.) A study of the newly-found Hittite inscription of Babylon has convinced me that the Hittite characters were polyphonous, and that it is just this polyphony which has hitherto foiled our attempts at decipherment. Besides the value possessed by a character when used ideographically, it had another and simpler value when used phonetically. Whether the polyphony went any further than this, I

* Kipsuna is called Kipsu or Kibsu by Sennacherib (*P.S.B.A.*, 1899, p. 10). It is evidently the Qibsu of Ramses II, who, at the Ramesseum, enumerates among the Hittite generals "Tarka-tazas chief of the archers of the country of Q(i)bsu."

cannot tell. But the goat's head which, as we know from the boss of Tarkondêmos, had ideographically the value of *tarku*, had syllabically the value of *s*. This is plain from M. 1, where it twice takes the place of the nominative suffix *-s*.^{*} In the inscription from Babylon, moreover, the ideograph of "water," which represents the name of a god, and also, as I believe, the word *Khat(ta)* or "Hittite," replaces the patronymic suffix.

Hence the reasons which obliged me to assign the value of *ku* to this suffix all disappear, and there is no longer any obstacle to our giving to those Hittite characters which denote suffixes the phonetic values that, according to the Arzawa letters, they ought to possess. (See my notes on the subject in the *P.S.B.A.*, June, 1899, pp. 28, 29.) In the language of Arzawa (and Boghaz Keui) the first person singular of the verb terminated in *-i* or *-iya*, while gentilic adjectives were formed in *-na(s)* like *Khattannas*, "Hittite," in *-ya* like *Arzawa-ya*, *Arzau-ya*, "Arzawayan,"[†] and in *-si* like *Samali-(t)si-s*, "the man of Samalla" (called Samalua in the list of Thothmes III). Applying this to the Hittite texts, we find  denoting the first person singular

of the verb, as in  (H. I, 3), and also serving as a patronymic and gentilic suffix (H. I, 1, &c.), while  represents the patronymic *plus* the nominative suffix *-s* (H. I, 3); consequently  will be *i* or *ya*, and  *is* or *yas*.



The ideograph  which also expresses the patronymic and gentilic relation, must accordingly be pronounced in certain cases *ya*.[‡] And this, too, will be the value of the sign for "water" , which takes the place of  in the Babylon inscription (line 1).[§] On the

* In my references M. means the lion of Mer'ash, B.M. the inscription of Bulgar Maden, J. Jerablûs, H. Hamath. The numbers attached to the inscriptions of Jerablûs and Hamath, and to the seals, follow the order given in Wright's *Empire of the Hittites*.

† Arzawaya is evidently identical with the name *Ap̄vβios* found in an inscription at Kastabala in Cilicia. The same termination is met with in *Tapkvμβios* from Tarkus. Kas-tabala, by the way, seems to contain the name of Tabalâ or Tuhâl.






‡ The ideograph, however, sometimes takes the place of *s* as in Bor II, 2 compared with I, 2. More often it represents *-yas* (e.g. H. I, 1), or is used as a determinative merely.

§ It may, however, be *si*, hardly *na*.


other hand, since the goat's head followed by *u-e* interchanges with  in J. III. 2, 3, and as we must read (*i*)*s-u-e* in the one case, it is plain that we should read *s(i)-yas* in the other. I assign the value of *is* (or perhaps *as*) to the goat's head, as it is preceded by *me* at Jerablûs (though it is *a*, , at Mer'ash), and *si* (or *asi*) to the flower as it is followed by *ya*.*

In III, 4, the boot is inserted in the middle of the group *ya-u-e*, which elsewhere is written without it. It is true that the boot, which ideographically denotes "the earth," "the ground," "what is below," may be used here as a determinative, but it is more probable that it is a phonetic adjunct. If so, it may represent the whole word *yawe*,—in the Arzawa letters (I, 24), *yas* follows the ideograph of "country"—or, as I think more probable, it may express the vowel *i*. In this case it must be read *i* when used, as it so often is, as the suffix of a noun, or in combination with *a* (*i-a*). In the language of Arzawa one of the noun suffixes is also *-i*.


I must here repeat what I have said before, that the particular vocalic values attached to the several vowel signs are merely provisional. Indeed, the character which I have assumed to be *a* is more probably *i* or *e*, since it is often attached to *e-me* "I (am)," which would therefore be more naturally read *e-me-e* or *e-me-i* than






e-me-a, while we have    (J. II, 7, M. 4), as well as  


(M. *last line*), and the reading . . *i-i-yas* seems preferable to . . *i-a-yas* in the one instance and . . *i-yas* in the other. It must be remembered however, that in the letter of Arzauya *ima* is "I (am)" (*P.S.B.A.*, June, 1899, p. 197). The same difficulty meets us in the case of the suffixed first person of the substantive verb. If I am right in my present explanation of the boss of Tarkondêmos, the inscription ends with *mê* "I (am)," written *me-e* in the cuneiform, and simply *me* in Hittite. In J. II, 2, 8, we have the same suffixed form, with the

initial vowel of *eme* elided, written  . In the Babylon text (line 2)

* On the bilingual seal of Indilimma the two ideographs denoting the name of the goddess Iskhara or Askhir, are preceded by a goat's head on a stand. The latter, therefore, probably has the value of Is-khar.



we find the accusative  and the Arzawa *min* makes the reading of this more probably *me-i-n* than *me-a-n*.*








Moreover, that  is a vowel at all is not absolutely certain. In J. I, 3, compared with 2,  in the oblique case (after the bull's head) takes the place of  *me-yas* in the nominative, and similarly on the Layard seals we have *Sanda-sar-me-s* in the nominative (No. 5), and "the seal of Sanda-sar-  " in the genitive (No. 6). If we could suppose that as in Assyrian, so too in Hittite, *m* and *w* were interchangeable, all difficulties would be solved; but this is most unlikely. I am at present, therefore, inclined to make  *ma* or *mi* or *mu* rather than *u*. What makes me hesitate is the following fact:—The Hittite king who is called Sapa-lul in the Egyptian hieroglyphs, writes his own name Subbi-luliuma, which would more naturally be read Subbi-luliuwa. A Khattanian king of the same name is called Sapa-lulmi by the Assyrians, and the omission of the final syllable in the Egyptian transcription would appear to show that this was pronounced Sapa-lulwi. The name of Tarku-dimme (Tarkondêmos) for Tarku-dimwe may point in the same direction. The termination probably denotes the passive participle, and *luliuma*, or *lulmi*, perhaps signifies "beloved" or "chosen." If so, it may be identical with the ideograph of two men joining hands in J. II, 1 ("beloved of the deity of Carchemish"), to which the phonetic complement *me* is attached. On the other hand, *Sanda-sarme* or *Sanda-sarmi* can hardly signify anything else than "Sandon is king."†



At Bulgar Maden *e-me-a*, "I (am)," is preceded by , *ê-x*. The value of the first sign is given at the end of Bulgar Maden, line 1 (if the reading is correct), where it is followed by *me-e*; *ê-me-e*,

* J. II, 8, ends with DETERMINATIVE *-i-me-a* "mighty am I." The previous word is probably to be read *e-ris* "king," but I have not yet succeeded in identifying the animal's head which represents the second syllable.

† It must be noted that in the Arzawa letter the word for "king" ends (in the nominative) in *-us*.





"I (am)." In H. IV, 1, 4, it is replaced by the doll .* Instead of *é-x*, in J. II, 1, we find , *é-y*, which also occurs in Bor, I, 1 (where it is followed by the picture of a knife, and the face has the same form as at Bulgar Maden), as well as in the Malatiyeh inscription (where it is followed by a bull's head similar to that which follows the words "king of the country of" in J. II, 1, and where too the face has the Bulgar Maden form). From the position of *é-x* and *é-y*, they would seem to denote some word like "lord," "prince."† I have given up my old idea regarding them, that the face was a determinative of the first personal pronoun, while the character which follows it represented phonetically the word *emé*. In fact, this is made impossible by J. III, 2, where *é-y* is preceded by a head, the determinative of sovereignty (as in J. II, 2, and Babylon 1), while the acc. suffix *-u* is attached to it. Instead of *é-x* we elsewhere have *e-x*, which is found along with *é-x* on the Bagdad bowl; in Bor, I, 2, 3, *é-x* interchanges with *e-x*. In M. 4, *e-x* is followed by *é-me-a-yas*, "princely" (?), and at Bulgar Maden (2, 3, 4) we have *e-x-x* and *e-x-x-s*, followed by the name of a city, and then *é-x-e-s*. In J. II, 7, *e-x* comes between *...i-a-yas* "powerful," and *sar* "a king." What the animal is that is represented I do not know.



The arm  or , with or without a single or double , means "king," "great one," as I have pointed out many years ago. Its phonetic value is indicated by M. Schlumberger's seal 6, where the name     is, I believe, to be read Sanda-sar-me, of "Sanda-sar-mes," the Cilician king whose daughter married Assur-bani-pal. In H. I, 1, we have the derivative *sar-ya-s*, "the kingly," and in M. 3, *sar(i)-n-e-s* and *sar(i)-n-e-n-e* (with the termination compare *Khat-ti-n-e-n*, J. III, 2). As far back as 1876, Hittite names like Khata-sar, Mul-sar, Kaui-sar, and Khilip-sar had led me to conclude that *sar* signified "prince," and was borrowed from the

* At Hamath the demonstrative  is similarly replaced by .


† It is worth notice that in Bor, I, 2, *e-x* is followed by the same animal's head as that which follows *e-ri*, "king," in the *Bowl* inscription.


Assyrian *sarru* (*Trans. S.B.A.* V, pp. 28, 29). The Cappadocian cuneiform tablets have shown how this could be the case, the Assyrian language and script having been used in the neighbourhood of Kaisariyeh at an early date, and we have classical authority for the statement that the name of the river Saros in Cilicia meant "ruler."

In J. I, 2, 3 and 5, the outstretched arm is interchanged with the upright arm , and the sacred tree , both of which, therefore, must have a signification related to that of *sar*. The following suffixes are attached to them: (1) the ass's head, (2) *u-s* and the ass's head, (3)  and the ass's head. Consequently  has the value of *us* (or whatever the vowel may be), and if the ass's head does not constitute a separate word, it will be a phonetic complement denoting a syllable ending in *-s*. That such was the case I had already inferred from the fact that it sometimes represents the termination of the plural (e.g., J. III, 5), which in the Arzawa tablets ends in *-s* as well as *-d*.* In Bab. 2, *us* and the ass's head are attached to a character which seems to be the same as that which I have long believed to represent *sar* in the name of Sanda-sarmes on the Kouyunjik seals 6, 7, 8 ("the seal of Sanda-sar-u").

In J. II, 1, the king is called "king of the country of the bull (and) the country of III." For reasons given long ago I translate "III" by "Hittite." In B.M. 1, 3, the character has the form ; it may represent a bundle of sticks. That the head attached to the first ideograph of "country" is the head of a bull, is shown by line 2, where the bull's head in the common word *e-bull's head* has the same form. This latter word is found in Bab. 1, preceded by "head," or "chief," in J. III, 2, and in J. I, 1, 2, 3 and 4 (where the vowel *e* is omitted). In J. I, it is preceded by *sar-us*, "king," and its equivalents, and followed by *me*, and *u-e*, to which the determinative of "city" () is attached (as it is attached also in Bab. 1). In M. 2, 3, the position of the vowel *e* is transposed, and the word twice appears in a list of territorial titles.

The word accordingly is the name of a country which begins with *e* and ends with *-me*. We are reminded of Aram, but I believe

* Compare also Bab. 5, 6; *ya-u-e-s* (ass's head), "these," which is followed by an ideograph with the plural sign .

that the district really referred to is that of the Urumâya, for which a variant reading gives Uruya, who are described by Tiglath-pileser I as "Hittites" (W.A.I. I, 10, II, 101.) The district is probably represented by the modern Urum, the Urinia of classical geography, north of Carchemish. If my identification is right, it is probable that the correct transliteration of  would be *o* or *ö*. *Urum* would be the Hittite word for "bull," and the name of the Taurus Mountains would be a translation of it.* It is noticeable that the title is not found on the Hamath, Cilician, and Cappadocian monuments. It is, however, met with at Gurun (line 3) in connection with the name of the king of Carchemish, and "the country III."


In J. III the titles are "king of the country of the *Khat-ti-n-e-n*"

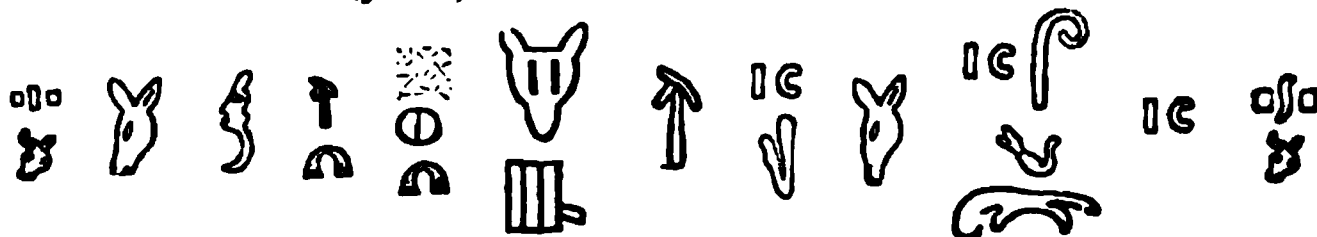
or "Hittites" (written as in H. I and II)




which I read : *e-ri* LAND-*yas* *Gargamis-yas* DETERMINATIVE OF PLACE *Khatti-yas*, "king of the land of Carchemish (and) the Hittites." The ideograph which I have identified with the name of Carchemish ever since 1884 (Wright's *Empire of the Hittites*, p. 176), consists of



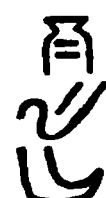
* The Taurus range is called Nibur in the Assyrian inscriptions. This appears as Nabur in the northern list of Ramses III at Medinet Habu (Nos. 64, 120), where it is preceded by Tuna, Kaqt, the Gagati of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, following shortly afterwards. No. 57 in this list, it may be noted, is Thisupi, that is to say the name of the god Tessup. In Nos. 60 and 65 we have Yarp by the side of Arpu-snini, the termination of which may be compared with that of *Khatti-nen* (J. III, 2.) In No. 37 of the list, however, Kil-senen, the Egyptian scribe has inserted the ideograph of "house" between the two *n*'s, as if *senen* (i.e. *sunna*) signified "a house." Other names on the list are Puthr(a) or Pethor, Amanu or Amanus, and Mathna or Mitanni, which is followed by Karkamash, Carchemish, and that again by *uru*, "the city." As *uru* is Assyrian, it is probable that the list was derived from a cuneiform original. No. 49 of the list is Ames-tark with the name of Tarkus, No. 48 is Tarkhais.

In the Babylon inscription *e-BULL-HEAD* is followed by the ass's head  and the ideograph of "city." With this may be compared a fragment from Jerablûs in the British Museum (J. V.) :






which I propose to translate : "(king) of the Urumians am I (*emeyas*) the Hittite king (*sar*) of these cities of Urum." The character I render "king" is identical with the second character (as correctly drawn) in the Kouyunjik seal 5, where it represents the syllable *sar* in the name of Sanda-sar-mes.


two ploughs or ideographs of "city" and the determinative of "place," and is found in Bor, II, 2, and Gurun, 3 (with a slight change of form). On the analogy of  which corresponds to the *mat ali* of the Tel el-Amarna tablets it would signify literally "the place" or "land of the two cities."

At Bor (I, 1, II, 1), the country over which the king is said to rule is called , which at Bulgar Maden (1, 3) is written  and . I propose to read this: *Tuna-yas* and *Tu-n-i* and

identify it with the Tuna of the cuneiform inscriptions, the Tyana of classical geography, which is now represented by Bor. The same ideograph probably forms the first element in the name of the king






mentioned in H. II, 3 which is written  . We are at

once reminded of the name of the Hittite prince Teuwatti, and of Tuates, king of Milid. If this identification is correct, the lituus  would have the value of *watti* or *ate* or perhaps *te* or *at*. It forms the second element in the territorial title of the Mer'ash king, which ends in *si-a-s*, and calls to remembrance the name of Khadisia, which Hecateus said was "a city of the white Syrians" on the Thermodon, not to speak of Kêtis and Kataonia. If, however, Mer'ash is correctly identified with the Markaši of the Assyrian texts, we should rather expect the name *Mar-qa-si* and the lituus would have the value of *qa*. But it occurs again in another territorial title of the Mer'ash king which is probably to be read *Mi-li-di*, since it is also a title of the Milid king. The Sinjirli inscriptions, moreover, have informed us that the kingdom of Ya'di or Yaudi lay in the direction of Mer'ash, as also did Bit-Burutas or Bit-Buritis, the hereditary territory of the Tabal and Cilician king Amris.*

The Hamath king has the title of "king of the country of the city of ." The first character, as we have seen, has the value


* Compare also the name of the Milid stronghold Uetas.

of *ê* (or *em*); it seems obvious to read the chair as *mi*, Ammi being, according to the Tel el-Amarna tablets, the kingdom which occupied the same geographical position as Hamath. This is more probable than making it *mat*, for *A-mat* or "Hamath," the Assyrian Amatu.*


In Bor. II, 2, we find the mention of a "city,"      *I-mi-s-e*, a name which reminds us of Emesa in Syria and Amisus in Pontus.

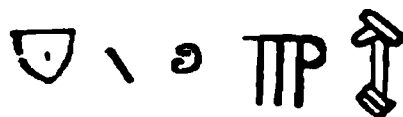
It is possible that Six may have been right in his suggestion that the name in the Jerablûs inscriptions which I have supposed to be that of a king is really that of the city of Carchemish, and that consequently Prof. Jensen is justified in his territorial rendering of it. It will be remembered that in my previous article on the Hittite texts (*P.S.B.A.*, 1899, p. 218), I had arrived by another road at the conclusion that the second character in it expresses the syllable *ka* or *ga*.† What inclines me now to this view is the Gurun inscription, where we have: (1) To the gods *so and so*, . . . the king of the land of . . . (2) lord of the country, the powerful (?) king (*sarus*), the prince (*ê-y*), *Gar* (?) *ga-me-a-si* COUNTRY KING, the prince, the king (3) of Urume . . . , the king of the land of the Hittites." Here it seems more natural to translate "king of the country of Carchemish," than "Etu (?) *games* king of the land," though it is true the latter would have the support of the boss of Tarkondêmos, who is called simply "king of the land of the city." But on this hypothesis it would be difficult to interpret J. II, which begins: "The prince (*ê-y*) *Gar* (?) *ga-me-s*, king of the land of Urume, king of the Hittites, beloved of the deity, the ruler of Urume." Here the second word must be a royal name, since the inscriptions of Bor and Malatiyeh exclude the possibility that *ê-y* is one. On the other hand J. III, 3,

* In H. V, 2, the place of the doll is taken by the head of a man with the hand to the mouth. After it comes the name of "the country of the city *A* (?) . . . - *me-n-n*," perhaps "of the Arameans." *N-e-n* denotes the genitive plural in *Khat-ti-n-e-n*, "of the Hittites" (J. III, 2.)

† I can now add a further confirmation of the explanation I have given of the Hittite title Abaklê as *Aba-kali*, "chief of the *Galli*." In Hesychius we find a Hellenised form of the word, *βάκηλος*, which the lexicographer says is equivalent to *ὁ μέγας* and *γάλλος*, "the grandee" and "*gallos*-priest." If we could give , the ideograph of supremacy, the value of *ba*, we could read the name of the Hamath king *Lu-ba-r-n(a)-s*. In the Assyrian inscriptions the name of Lubarna is also written Liburna, and it is noticeable that the first character in the name of the Hamath king seems to be identical with that which forms the second syllable in the name I suppose to represent *Mi-li-di* in M. 2.

Gar(?)-*ga-me-si-ya*s KING must be "king belonging to *Gar(?)*gamis," though this may just as well signify "son" or "descendant of *Etu-games*" as "a native of Carchemish." In J. I, 1, however, it would be more natural to translate *emea u*(DET.)*es Gar(?)*-*ga-me-si-ya-s*, "I (am) Ues of Carchemish" than "I (am) the prince of *Etu-gamesiyas*" or "the prince of Carchemish." It must also be remembered that, as in the Assyrian inscriptions, cities were called after the names of their founders or restorers, as is clear from Bor II, 3, "the city of *Eugal(?)*es" (*e-u-gal(?)*-*e* DET.), and B.M. 2. For the present, therefore, I must leave the question undecided.

I have sometimes thought that in H. I, 2, we had the name of *Teuwatti* or *Tuates*, since the vase, as Messerschmidt has shown, had the value of *du* or *da*, and we could therefore read *Ta-u-(a)t-e-ya-s*, "the descendant of *Tuates*." But the vase may also be a variant of the character  which is found at Ivris and in the Karaburna inscription lately discovered by Mr. Anderson. In each of these two last cases the inscription begins with the same words: *ya-e*

 which must mean "this inscription I have

written" or "this rock I have engraved."* As there is no sculpture at Karaburna, an image or portrait cannot be referred to. Unfortunately, however, I cannot make out what the ideograph is intended to represent. Is it the picture of a slab of stone? The verb is found in H. I, 2, II, 2, and III, 2. If we could read it *a-nas-ya* we might compare *aniya-ttala* which seems to mean "letters" in Arzawa I, 1, 15, and the verb *aniya* in Arzawa II, 22, 23.

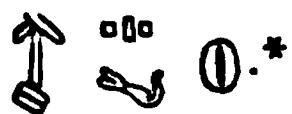
As *ya-e* is now shown to signify "this" and not "image," as I formerly supposed, the beginning of the first Ivris inscription will be: *ya-e* D.P. *Sanda* .. *ka(?)*-*s*, "making this for Sandon." *Ya-e* is apparently the same word as *ya-u-e* in H. V, 3, which has the doll as a determinative and is followed, as at Ivris, by the name of the god Sandon, as well as *ya-i-u-e* in J. III, 4, which is similarly followed by the name of a god and the word .. *ka(?)*-*s*, "making."† *Yaue*, or *yuiue*, however, may be a different word and signify "image,"

* The verb does not seem to be in the Ivris inscription, or rather a different verb takes the place of it. Of course it may have some such general signification as "I have made," and the words on the Hamath stones may mean "I have made a tablet in Hittite characters," "I have made Hittite sculptures for the city," "I have made engraved(?) Hittite thrones." The ideograph in H. II, 2, appears to represent an awl or graving-tool.

† See also H. V, 2.

though the doll-determinative accompanied by the staff, which, as we know from the Bagdad bowl denotes "this," precedes the word *ya-me-s*, which certainly means "this man" (J. I, 1, M. 3, 4). In

H. V, 3, we have the doll and staff followed by  ① DOLL-STAFF



The Malatiyeh inscription also begins with the word *ya-?e*; the second character looks like *us*, but must rather be a vowel. Then come the picture of a door and the determinative of place, then *s* followed by a knife and a suffix represented by the doubtful character already mentioned, which I propose to read *i*. This is followed by the name of the king and his titles. The whole probably means: "This gate has executed Sandu . . . , the Khalian (?), the prince of Urum (*Urume-yas*), the sovereign of . . . , the king (*sarus*) of Milid (?)." † The king's name appears to be the same as that of the Mer'ash king, though somewhat differently written. The first part of it is identical with that of the third king mentioned in the Babylon text, as well as at the end of H. I. As the patronymic is affixed to the latter, it probably represented the name of the founder of a royal house. On the other hand the name of the son or descendant of this king Sanda . . . recorded at Hamath (H. II, 3), is not the same as that of his son or descendant given in the Babylon text. This last (? Us-khitti) has the same name as the second king at Merash, whose father (or ancestor), however, presents us with a new name. We seem, therefore, to have the following genealogy:

- (1) Sanda . . . (Hamath, Babylon) ancestor of
- (2) Tuates (?) (Hamath), and of
- (3) Us-khitti (?) (Mer'ash, Babylon) with his father Gagates (?) (Mer'ash).



His two sons were (4) Sanda . . . (Mer'ash) and (5) the Babylon king.

Even if this genealogy is not right, we may gather from the relation-

* From the fragment from Jerablûs quoted in a previous footnote, it would appear that this should be read *ya-e-n* "place."

† The inscription of Agab-takha, discovered by Mr. de Morgan at Susa, shows that the district of which Milid was the capital was Khali-rabbatâ, "Khali the greater," and not Khani as we have hitherto imagined. Khali must be the Halys of the Greeks. (See Scheil: *Délégation en Perse*, II, Pl. 20.)

ship of the names that the Babylon stela was brought from the neighbourhood of Mer'ash, and that the king referred to in the Hamath inscriptions came from the same region. Similarly, the close resemblance in names and titles between the inscriptions of Carchemish and Gurun allows us to infer that the Gurun text is the record of a campaign in the north on the part of a king of Carchemish.


I now pass to the names of the gods. The name of the goddess of Carchemish is still a puzzle to me. A careful examination of her image, however, now in the British Museum, by Mr. Rylands and myself, has resulted in the discovery that in her right hand she holds the symbols , "supreme goddess"—a title which occurs again at Gurun and Fraktin,—while in the right is , a symbol of authority about which Mr. Rylands and myself have spoken in *P.S.B.A.*, 1899, p. 17.* At Fraktin the title, "Supreme Goddess," is given to the seated goddess, who appears also in the Hittite sculptures of Mer'ash. In her right hand is a musical instrument, in her left a pomegranate (?), and on her lap is a boy, while above the musical instrument is the dove which is always added as a determinative to the goddess's name (where, however, I believe that no phonetic value was attached to it). At Komana the goddess was called Ma; perhaps at Carchemish she was 'Ati or 'Etu. According to the treaty between Ramses II and the Hittites, she was identified with the Babylonian Iskhara.

At Gurun her name is followed by that of a god whose name is expressed by the picture of two legs walking (see also the Aleppo inscription, line 1, where the same symbol seems to be represented). At Boghaz Keui this latter name is attached to a god who stands in one place on the back of a leopard, with the double-headed battle-axe in one hand and the crooked staff in the other, and in another place has a boy carrying a lituus under his arm. The boy is also made to carry a symbolic representation of the world, in which a priest stands on a boot, that is to say the earth, and supports on his head the winged disks of the sun and moon. The wings rest on two columns, and between them are two fetishes resembling the character *y* mentioned above, one of which the priest touches with

* From the passage in J. IV, 4, 4, quoted in *P.S.B.A.*, 1899, p. 15, it would seem that the staff meant "to found" or "create" ("creator of earth and heaven," or perhaps "what has been created below and above").

his hand. On the monument found at Babylon a similar figure to that of the god with the battle-axe is depicted, and we may therefore provisionally regard it as the figure of Tessub the Air-god, whose name will be denoted by the walking legs.

Ar Gurun the name of the goddess is preceded by that of a god

which is written , where the second character is shown by the

name of the king in the second line not to be Sanda(n), but the flower which I used to read *tar*, but now prefer to make *si* or *asi*. At Boghaz Keui the name is given to the chief god, who stands on the heads of two priests with a club in the right hand, a double-headed axe in the belt, and a goat at the side. We learn from the boss of Tarkondêmos that the goat had ideographically the value of *tarku*, while on a coin of the Phrygian Laodicea the animal is the symbol of Zeus Aseis. We may therefore infer that the figure is that of the god Tarkus, who also bore the name or title of Asi. According to Lydian and Phrygian genealogies, Asios, like Attys, was the son of either Kotys or Manes, and the "Asian mead" is placed by Homer (Il. II, 461) on the banks of the Kayster.*




The god of Boghaz Keui is advancing to meet a goddess, who wears a mural crown and stands on the back of a leopard. At her side also is a goat, and behind her is the god whom I have identified with Tessub. The mural crown indicates a peculiarity of the Hittite deities. Like Assur, who was at once the god of Assyria and the ancient capital of the country, a considerable number of the Hittite divinities are deified cities and tribes. Thus we have Khata-sar, Kaui-sar and Khilip-sar, compounded with the names of the god "Hittite," the god "Quê" and the god "Aleppo." Khata also appears under the form of Khite, or Khitti, in the names of Khite-ruadas of Milid given in the Vannic inscriptions, and Ilu-Khite of Subria in the time of Assur-nazir-pal.† But the goddesses might represent cities as well as the gods, and hence it is that they are depicted with mural crowns. It is possible that the goddess at Boghaz Keui represents the city on whose site the ruins of Boghaz

* Is Attys the god Khata, or Khitti, the personification of the Hittites? Kotenna is also given as Etenna, and Kotys, who in one genealogy is inserted between Manes and Attys, may have been a duplication of the latter.

† Us-khitti was king of Tuna or Tyana in the time of Tiglath-pileser III, and is possibly the native equivalent of the Semitic Ilu-Khite.

Keui now stand. At all events she must be the goddess who occupies so large a place in the divine triads of Asia Minor. She will be the Kybelê of Phrygia, just as Tarkus in front of her is Manes, and Tessub at her back is Attys. Tarkus or Asi, Askhir and Tessub will be the Hittite equivalents of Manes, Kybelê and Attys.

The name of Tessub seems to have been borrowed from Mitanni. Perhaps the native name of the god was Dadi. Giri-Dadi was king of Assa in the time of Assur-nazir-pal, and in Dadilu of the Kaskâ, in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, we may have the names 'T-i'-d-a-l and Ta-d-a-l given by Ramses II to two Hittite chieftains.* However, Dadi is more probably Semitic than Hittite, and the Egyptian names may be transcribed Tadar as well as Tadal.

Another goddess, separate apparently from the one in the principal scene, but also wearing the mural crown, is found both at Boghaz Keui and at Eyuk. In both places her name is written . Does this mean "the goddess of the city of Tarkus"? Or  are we to read Si-mi, whom Melito makes the daughter of  the supreme god Adad, and who is possibly to be identified with the Semiramis of Lucian, worshipped at Hierapolis or Mabug?†

(IV.) As I have alluded to the Hittite name of Tadal, it may be worth while to quote other Hittite names given by Ramses II at the Ramesseum, at Abydos, or at Abu-simbel. Among them we have Targ-annas and Targa-tazas compounded with the name of the god Tarkus. With *-annas* may be compared the name of the city of Annas, whose archers were commanded by Luba-sunna. Here we have the same divine name as in that of the Khatinian king Luba-rna, while . . . sun is the end of the name of another Khatinian king, and the same element is probably to be found also in Syenesis or Syenne-sis. Â-gama commanded the archers of Panas; the second element in his name occurs in that of the Hittite chief Etu-gama, as well as in that of the Hittite city Tarkhi-gamas, mentioned by the Vannic king Menuas. The charioteer of the Hittite king was

* Giri-šuri is governor of Til-Turi and nephew of Šihlukidi in one of Harper's letters (625). Šihlukidi is curiously like the Greek Seleukides. The name of Amris of Cilicia is also given as Ambaridi by Sargon.

† The name may also be compared with that of Iskhara, as written on the bilingual seal of Indilimma. (See * note, p. 100.) The ideograph of "place" takes the place of the stand.

Garba-tas, in whose name we recognise the first element in that of the Khattinian king Girpa-ruda, the Garpa-ruda and Garpa-runda of Gurgum, where the second element is the same as in the Milidian name Khite-ruadas.* Like Khite and Etu, Garpa and Luba must be divine names. The brother of the Hittite king bore the name of Mazarim, "the Egyptian," perhaps out of compliment to the Egyptian province; it can hardly have been derived from Muzri, the Assyrian name of the Hittite "borderland." In *Samali-(t)si-s* we have "the Samalian," formed by the suffix *-si*, which the insertion of the Egyptian *t* shows must have had a sharp pronunciation, and Zawazas † was the prince of the land of Tunis, in which I propose to see Tuna or Tyana. Another commander of the archers was . . n-gama, and we have further the names of Luba-ul . . , Sapa-sar, where the divine name is the same as in Sapa-lulmi, Sapa-zil, brother of the Hittite king, the last syllable of which reappears in Katu-zil or Kata-zil of Kummukh, and the doubtful Sisu-zil, the first part of which may be compared with Šaši, the name of a Khattinian prince in the reign of Shalmaneser II. ‡ To this list of names must further be added Pais, Kamaiz, Âki-tesub, and Tar-tisub, in which the name of the god Tessub occurs.

(V.) The second Arzawa letter (Winckler and Abel, 238) is unfortunately much defaced. But the first paragraph ought to run according to the analogy of other Tel el-Amarna tablets much as follows: "To the king my lord X thy servant. Before my Sun-god, my god(s) seven times seven I prostrate myself." As a matter of fact we find in the first line the determinative of a proper name, and in the second the word *memis-tu* (or *wewis-ta*), *i.e.*, the nominative of a noun with the possessive pronoun "thy." The same word *memis-ta* occurs in the second paragraph (l. 5), and in line 12 we have *memi(an)*. *Memis-ta* (l. 2) is followed by an obliterated

* Prof. Hommel is doubtless right in identifying the Gabrod of an Aramaic seal with Garpa-runda.

† Zawazas reminds us of Sabazi's, though the Hittite equivalent of the Asianic Saba, Sawa, and Sabazios may be the god Sapa or Subbi. The combination *zawa* seems peculiarly Hittite. We have it in Arzawa, as well as in the name of the Hittite liquor *qazawa-ir* or *qazawa-il* mentioned in the Anastasi papyri (IV, Pl. 15), which claims kinship with the name of the country Qizawadana, from which the princess Putu-khipa came.

‡ Sasima was a Cilician or Cappadocian town near Kybistra. Has the name of the latter city anything to do with that of the kingdom of Khubis-na or Khubus-na, in the northern part of Cilicia?

character and the ideographs, "the Sun-god [my gods]," and in line 3 I see traces of the characters "seven times seven," followed by *itta-ra-a-tar-i-ya* . . . In line 9 *itta* is given as the phonetic rendering of the ideograph of "couch," and in *itta-râ-tariya*, therefore, I believe we have a compound signifying, "I place [myself] prostrate." The root *tar* (or *atar*) will thus mean "to place" or "set."

(VI.) It has long been recognised that the name Kandalûs, given by Herodotus to the last king of the Lydian dynasty of the Herakleidæ, is a mere epithet or title. We learn from Nicolas of Damascus that his real name was Sadyattès, and Hesychius stated that Kandalûs was the Lydian "Hermês or Hêraklês." A fragment of Hipponax reads: Ἑρμῇ κυνάγχα Μηονιστὶ Κανδαῦλα, "the hound-throttling Hermês, Kandalûs in Mæonian." The epithet "hound-throttling" points to representations of a god strangling an animal, and thus takes us back to the Babylonian conception of Gilgames strangling the lion, or holding a strangled lion in either hand. This conception made its way to the West, as we know from the figures that have been discovered in Cyprus and Asia Minor, which reproduce it either literally or in a modified form. In Asianic art Gilgames thus became a Hêraklês strangling the Nemæan lion; such, at least, was the Greek interpretation of the figures in question. In Lydian the god so represented must have had the name of Kandalûs; his identification with Hêraklês was probably the reason why Greek history assigned Sadyattes Kandalûs to an Heraklid dynasty. Kandalûs or Kandav-les I would connect with the Thracian war-god Kandaôn or Kanda(v)-ôn, mentioned by Lycophron (938);* we may also compare the Lycaonian name Kanzôs and the Cappadocian Kanza-illaros. In one of the tablets edited by Knudtzon (63, 8) "the son of Kanda" is an ally of the Cilicians.

* Hesychius, it should be noticed, says that Κάνδωλοι meant "pirates."

DOCUMENTS ASSYRIENS RELATIFS A LA MAGIE.

PAR ALFRED BOISSIER.

Un des hommes qui a le plus étudié et le mieux défini la magie est sans contredit Schopenhauer. Son opuscule "Über den Willen in der Natur" renferme un chapitre intitulé "Animalischer Magnetismus und Magie," qui mérite d'être soigneusement médité des assyriologues. Le célèbre penseur aurait salué avec joie la publication des textes assyriens, qui traitent de questions, qui lui étaient chères et sur lesquelles il a jeté de merveilleuses clartés. Quelques passages sont dignes d'être cités.

P. 113 : "Nur bei einigen denkenden und gelehrten Schriftstellern früherer Jahrhunderte finden wir den deutlichen Gedanken, dass im Willen selbst die magische Kraft liege und dass die abenteuerlichen Zeichen und Akte, nebst den sie begleitenden sinnlosen Worten, welche für Beschwörungs und Binde-mittel der Dämonen galten, blosse Vehikel und Fixierungsmittel des Willens seien, wodurch der Willensakt, der magisch wirken soll, aufhört ein blosser Wunsch zu sein und zur That wird, ein *Corpus* erhält (wie Paracelsus sagt), auch gewissermaassen die ausdrückliche Erklärung des individuellen Willens abgegeben wird, dass er jetzt sich als allgemeiner, als Wille an sich, geltend macht."




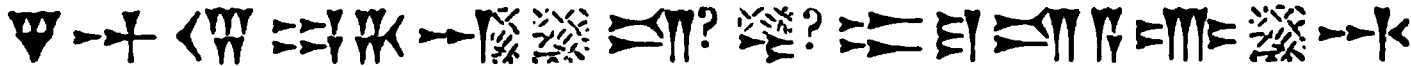




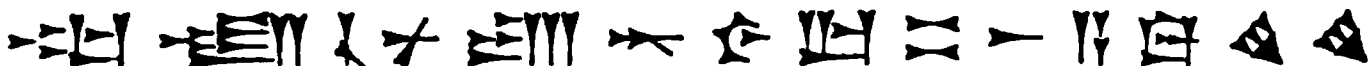
Ailleurs, page 110 : "Wenn man D. Tiedemanns Geschichte der Magie unter dem Titel *disputatio de quaestione, quae fuerit artium magicarum origo*, Marb. 1787 liest, so erstaunt man über die Beharrlichkeit, mit welcher, so vielen Misslingens ungeachtet, überall und jederzeit die Menschheit den Gedanken der Magie verfolgt hat, und wird daraus schliessen, dass er einen tiefen Grund, wenigstens in der Natur des Menschens, wenn nicht der Dinge überhaupt, haben müsse, nicht aber eine willkürlich ersonnene Grille sein könne." Schopenhauer a rappelé le souvenir de la célèbre visionnaire Jane Leade, qui vivait en Angleterre à l'époque de Cromwell, dont les pensées ont été recueillies dans la Zauberbibliothek de Horst ; en voici un bel extrait : p. 123 (*loc. cit.*), "Die magische Kraft setzt den, der sie besitzt, in den Stand, die Schöpfung

d.h. das Pflanzen, Thier und Mineral Reich zu beherrschen* und zu erneuern ; so dass, wenn Viele in einer magischen Kraft zusammenwirkten, die Natur paradiesisch umgeschaffen werden könnte. Wie wir zu dieser magischen Kraft gelangen? In der neuen Geburt durch den Glauben d.h. durch die Uebereinstimmung unseres Willens mit dem göttlichen Willen. Denn der Glaube unterwirft uns die Welt, insofern die Uebereinstimmung unsers Willens mit dem göttlichen zu Folge hat, dass alles, wie Paulus sagt, unser ist und uns gehorchen muss."

N. 3554 et K. 3464.

Ces deux documents ne sont point nouveaux pour les assyriologues : Lenormant,† Strassmaier, Craig‡ les ont publiés. Je les ai copiés moi-même il y a quelques années et ma collation sera peut-être la bienvenue. K. 3464 et N. 3554 appartiennent à la même famille ; leur étude est utile puisqu'il s'agit du grand rituel assyro-babylonien peu connu, dont les cérémonies varient à l'infini ; c'est un chapitre important de l'histoire des idées religieuses, sur lequel Jastrow a passé un peu vite dans son livre. Je dois à l'amabilité de M. Thureau-Dangin d'avoir pu examiner à nouveau N. 3554. Voici quelques retouches à la publication de Craig :


RECTO.

2  3  4  5  6  8  9   10 

* Les animaux, les plantes et les pierres jouent un grand rôle dans le rituel magique, les documents assyriens en font foi.—Voir aussi les hymnes de l'Atharva-veda.

† *Choix de textes*, p. 267.

‡ *Religious Texts*, p. 66.


11 A la fin de la ligne lisez : 

12 " " " 

13 


16  est sûr.

17 Le second  est sûr.

20 Le signe  est sûr.

Ici l'original a une barre qui indique le commencement d'un nouveau §.

28 

29 

VERSO.

1 

3 

7  etc., etc.

8 

TRANSCRIPTION.

Recto.

1. a-zu
2. lu mu? bît ši-i
3. kak tukân-(an) epir parakki ili epir abulli
4. epir bal-[ri] epir ib-ra-ti epir ti-tur-ri
5. ša Ištar nap-ḡa-? epir suki irbitti-ma epir a-šam-[šu]-ti
6. epir bâb ḡarimti epir bâb mi
7. epir bâb ka-ši-ri epir bâb êkalli
8. epir bâb BU.US.SIR epir bâb sa-bi epir ḡarrâni
9. epir bâb ^{amêl} NU.GIS.SAR epir bâb ^{amêl} naggari epirâ an-nu-tim
10. ka-li-šu-nu ta-ḡaš-šal mithâris ina nâri tuballal
11. šaman šurmêni ina libbi tu-sal bâb bîti ^{amêl} ma-a te-sir
12. ūra tarakas mû ellu tanadi -(di) GI.GAB* (ina) pân Ištar
tukân-(an)
13. XII -ša tarakas-(as) miris ṭabâti dišpa ḡimêta tašakan-(an).
14. suluppu KU.A.DIR tatabak-(ak) niknakka burâši tašakan-(an)

* IV. R. 54, No. 2, l. 34.

15. lu zikaru lu zinništū ana ūri tu-še-li-ma ina qin-ši-šu
16. tu-šak-mas-su-ma a-na imni NU.URUD* A.AN ki-a-am i-qab-bi
17. Iš-tar Na-na-a u Gaz-ba-a-a
18. e-li-šu ru-ši an-na-a iqabbi-ma
19. a-ma-tum ša lib-šu izakar-(ár)-ma ana bît ^{amēl} sa-bi-i
20. i-sad-di-ra bītu šuātu ana arkāt ūmē damiq-(iq)
21. šiptu Iš-tar li-e-it ilāni rabūte
22. ša-ku-tum šu-pu-tum qa-rit-tum Iš-tar
23. mu-tal-la-tum šur-bu-tum Ir-ni-ni bēltum-(tum)
24. a-na ia-a-ši ru-ši ba-na-at ū ad-di-rat
25. Bēl abi ni-ši i-lat zi-ik-ka-ri
26. ša-nin-ti ni-ši te-li-ti Iš-tar
27. mārāt A-nim nab-ni-it ilāni rabūte
28. na-di-na-at ^{is} ḥaṭṭa ^{is} kussa(-sa) a-na ka-li-šu-nu-tu
29. ? pi ?-ku

Verso.

1. kur
2. GI.GAB tukân-(an)
3. niknakka burâši tukân-(an)
4. šipta VII-šu tamannu(-nu)-ma tuš-ki-[en]
5. ina mē ta-maḥ-ḥa-aḥ šipta VII
6. bâb bīti ta-ša-ḥat ū-si-ta ?
7. ? ^{teppu}š-ma ina šap-la-an ḥa-ri-e
8. Enuma amēlu qunuqqa-šu lu GAŠ lu ḤA.A lu a-na nâri . . .
9. duppu 135 kan NAM.BÚR.

TRADUCTION.

3. *tu placeras, de la poussière de la chapelle du dieu de la poussière† de la grande porte*
4. *de la poussière du balri,‡ de la poussière de l'ibrati,§ de la poussière du pont*
5. *de Istar ? poussière des quatre rues, poussière (amenée par) le vent*

* Il y a sous   le signe  écrit en petits caractères.

† C.-à.-d. de la poussière ramassée près de la grande porte, du *balri*, etc., etc.

‡ Del. H.W., p. 177.

§ Del. H.W., p. 10 ; on ne connaît pas le sens précis de ces mots, et il me répugne de leur donner une signification vague.

6. *poussière de la porte de l'hiérodoule, poussière de*
7. *poussière de la porte du kašir* poussière de la porte du palais*
8. *poussière de la porte "bussir," poussière de la porte du sabi, poussière de la route*
9. *poussière de la porte du nugissar,† poussière de la porte du charpentier, ces poussières*
10. *elles toutes tu pileras ensemble, puis tu les tremperas dans la rivière*
11. *de l'huile de pin tu ?, la porte de la maison du ? tu fermeras*
12. *tu arrangeras le toit, de l'eau pure tu répandras, un gigab devant Istar tu placeras,*
13. *douze ? tu assembleras,‡ du miris tabâti§ du miel, du beurre, de l'huile tu placeras*
14. *des dattes, de la fleur de farine tu répandras, tu placeras un encensoir de burâšu*
15. *soit (une victime) mâle soit (une victime) femelle sur le toit tu feras monter, sur ses jarrets ?*
16. *tu la feras plier, à la droite de l'image de cuivre ? ainsi il parlera (l'officiant)*
17. *Istar, Nana et Qazba*
18. *viens à son secours, il dira cela*
19. *la parole que son cœur dira il se dirigera*
20. *vers la maison du sabû, cette maison sera favorisée dans la suite.*
21. *Invocation : Istar, vaillante parmi les grands dieux*
22. *élevée, resplendissante, courageuse Istar*
23. *suprême, grandiose (ô toi) Irnina la souveraine*
24. *Secours moi (ô toi) la resplendissante et majestueuse*
25. *de Bêl, le père des humains, déesse du zikkari||*
26. *? des humains, "telitu,"¶ Istar*
27. *fille d'Anou, rejeton des grands dieux*
28. *qui donne le sceptre, le trône à eux tous*

* Del. H.W., p. 591.

† Jardinier ?

‡ rakâsu a le sens de *lier* et aussi de *placer* = šakânu, epešu = *faire*, comme nous l'enseignent les documents juridiques de Johns.

§ H.W., p. 298.







|| P.S.B.A., Vol. XXI, p. 47, l. 10.






¶ Del. H.W., p. 707.

Verso.

2. *tu placeras le gigab*
3. *l'encensoir de burâšu tu placeras*
4. *l'incantation sept fois tu prononceras, tu te prosternerás . . .*
5. *avec les eaux tu rempliras, l'incantation sept*
6. *la porte de la maison tu ?*
7. *? tu feras dessous ?*
8. *Si un homme soit brisé, soit détruit son cachet, soit dans la rivière.*

COMMENTAIRE.

L. 10. La lecture   est confirmée par d'autres textes, elle exclut celle de   qui un moment m'avait paru plus exacte; *taḥaššal* ou *tatarrak. tarâku*, idéog.   Bezold Catalogue, p. 167 (K. 770); mes documents Assyriens, p. 43, l. 4, *tarik*; p. 99, l. 16, *tarkat*; p. 226, l. 14, *tarik*; p. 244, l. 10, *itarrak*;* dans les omina nous avons un *tirku* = membre du corps humain, cf. K. 6473. Je crois qu'ici il faut lire *taḥaššal*.

L. 13.      est à lire d'après K. 9273, l. 1 et 2, l. 3 et 4, *mi-ri-is ta-ba-a-ti*.

L. 15. *Qinšu* voir Meissner, *Suppl. s.v.*, voir aussi DA (= mes documents assyriens) p. 246, l. 16. Certains offices étaient célébrés sur les toits des maisons, comme nous le montre ce texte. Dans IV, R. 54, No. 2, l. 32 on lit: Pendant trois jours, le matin et le soir, il récitera la litanie; à la première veille de la nuit il répandra de l'eau pure, un vêtement de cérémonie il revêtira; au matin sur le toit du palais il arrangera une place, il l'aspergera d'eau pure, puis après avoir présenté aux dieux des *gigab*, et offert des sacrifices, il est dit: tu feras dire au roi les prières d'expiation; il est curieux de trouver l'expression *tušadbab* employée dans ce sens. C'est à Jensen qu'on doit l'explication d'*ûru*. L'idéogramme comporte cette acceptation outre celles de "couvrir," "cacher," "effacer," "relier," "coudre." Le temps est passé des commentaires longs, ennuyeux et inutiles, celui-ci suffit pour ce document, qui renferme ainsi que le suivant des obscurités.

La traduction complète des "*documents relatifs aux présages*" paraîtra à la fin de l'année.

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N. 3554.

TRANSCRIPTION.

Recto.

1. na
2. be-lit mâtâte a-na ia-[ši]
3. bêltu šur-bu-tum al-si-ki
4. maḥar-(ḥar)-ki niknakku burâši el-lu du-uš
5. maḥar-(ḥar)-ki bît sa-bi-i na-ra-[am]
6. Iš-tar a-na a-ma-ti-ia i-ziz-zi-im-[ma]
7. si-bu-tum an-ni-tum lu si-bu
8. Iš-tar UM . ME . DI qât-ki ina ^{is} kan-ni u nam-zi-[ti] .
9. mi-ḥi-ir-tum lil-li-kam-ma a-a ib-bar
10. pi-ḥa-ti an-ni-ti na-ša-ti at-ti tù èn.
11. inim-inim-ma enuma-(ma) mi-ḥi-ir-tum ina bît amêl sa-bi-i
maš-šad.

12. ak-ak-bi niknakka burâši ana pân Iš-tar tašakan-ma
13. karan? sa-bi-i tanakki-(ki) la tu-u-mar-ra-im-ma
14. tuš-ki-en u karana tanakki-(ki)-ma iš-di-ḥu bīt sa-bi-i
15. i-sad-di-ra ana arkât ûmê damiq-(iq)
16. èn Iš-tar mâtâte qa-rit-tum i-la-tum
17. an-nu-ú gi-pa-ra-ki ḥu-di-e u ri-ši
18. al-ki it-ru-bi a-na bīti-ni
19. it-ti-ki li-ru-ba ša-lil-ki ʾa-a-bu
20. . . bu-bu-ki u ku-lu'-ú-ki

Verso.

1. . . ip-ta-a-a lu-ú lal-la . . .
2. . . qa-ta-a-a lu-ú ku-uz-[bu]
3. . . ša-pat ki-pat-ti-ia lu-ú ša-pat- . . .
mâtâte
4. kima šīru ša iš-tu ḥur-ri us-ša-am-ma iššûre ina eli-šu i-ḥab-bu . . .
5. ina eli-ia nišê lim-na šī . DAḤ
6. ina gi-pa-ri ša Iš-tar ina ḥa-ri-e ša Nin-saḥ
7. ina mar-ši-ti ša Nin-giš-zi-da
8. šab-ta-niš-šu bi-la-niš-šu mi-it-gu-ra-niš-šu
9. ru-qu li-is-saḥ-ra zi-nu-ú li-tu-ra
10. kima ḥurâšu lib-ba-šu li-tu-ra ia-a-ši
11. kima šamû-(ú) ir-ḥu-ú ir-ši-ti-im i-du-ú-mu
12. šī-it-ku-ru-ub ia-a-ši tù èn
13. inim-inim-ma iš-di-iḥ sa-bi-i ka-ri-ka
14. kák-kák-bi epiṣ ka-a-ri epiṣ ni-bi-ri *
15. epiṣ ti-tur-ri epiṣ bal-lu-ur-ti ša IV ḥarrâni
16. epiṣ suqi irbitti-ma epiṣ abulli epiṣ pa-rak-ki
17. epiṣ bâb bīt Iš-tar epiṣ bīt ḥa-rim-ti
18. epiṣ bâb bīt ^{amēl} NU . GIS . SAR† epiṣ bâb bīt ^{amēl} mandidī
19. epiṣ bâb bīt ^{amēl} GEŠTIN-na ša iš-di-iḥ-šu ma'-[du]
20. epiṣ an-nu-ti ana pân Iš-tar
21. PAT . meš ša mu-uš-ši tašakan-[an]
22. mihḥa ‡ tanaqi-(qi)
23. meš-šu

(La fin manque.)

* IV. R 55, No. 1, obverse, l. 30.

† Le nugissar du palais, cf. Johns, Assyrian Deeds, No. 182.

‡ KAS . SAG.







TRADUCTION.

Recto.

2. *Souveraine des contrées à moi*
3. *grande souveraine je t'invoque*
4. *devant toi l'encensoir de burâšu, le pur*
5. *devant toi la maison du sabû, l'aimé*
6. *Istar, à ma demande sois présente*
7. *que cette requête soit agréée*
8. *Istar, mère nourricière, ta main sur le kannu et le namzitu**
9. *que l'adversité disparaisse, que jamais*
10. *ce tu portes? . Formule magique*
11. *c'est ce qu'on doit dire, quand l'adversité dans la maison du sabû se fait durement sentir*
12. *Voici (maintenant) ce qu'on doit faire: tu placeras l'encensoir de burâšu devant Istar*
13. *tu feras une libation de vin sabû mais tu ne pas*
14. *tu te prosternerás et tu feras une libation de vin*
15. *la marche vers la maison du sabû sera organisée et favorisée pour toujours*
16. *Invocation:** *Istar des contrées, vaillante déesse,*
17. *Cet emplacement qui est le tien, (est celui de) la joie et de l'allégresse*
18. *allons, entre dans notre demeure*
19. *qu'avec toi entre ton bon?*
20. *. ton bubu et ton kulû*

Verso.

1. *Dans mes l'opulence*
2. *Dans mes mains il y a de l'abondance*
- 3.


* Le kannu et le namzitu sont des récipients. Le nombre des termes assyriens se rapportant à la poterie est considérable; aussi peut-on en conclure que cet art a dû être poussé assez loin dans ces contrées. Le père Scheil a publié dans le recueil une belle tablette hiéroglyphique, où nous voyons un signe qui représente l'aiguière à libation (Heuzey, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. V, p. 55) et que je regarde comme l'équivalent de  ou de . (Cf. le volume de Thureau-Dangin.) Je crois que si l'on admet que le trépied qui supporte l'aiguière fait partie du signe on pourrait l'identifier avec . Le rapprochement avec  proposé par le savant dominicain me paraît inadmissible ainsi que l'identification du dernier hiéroglyphe avec  au lieu de .

† Je traduis ainsi intentionnellement.

4. *comme le serpent qui sort d'un trou, alors que les oiseaux s'abattent sur lui,*
5. *ainsi les hommes méditent le mal contre moi**
6. *Dans l'enceinte sacrée d'Istar dans les fossés ? de Ninsah*
7. *Dans la propriété de Ningišzida*
8. *prends le, amène le, favorise le*
- 9 *que celui qui est au loin revienne, que celui qui est courroucé retourne*
10. *comme l'or que son cœur se transforme (pour) moi*
11. *comme le ciel a été inondé, comme la terre ?*
12. *sois moi propice* *Formule magique.*
13. *voilà ce qu'il faut dire, la marche du sabû ?*
14. *voilà (maintenant) ce qu'il faut faire: de la poussière du quai,† de la poussière du passage*
15. *de la poussière du pont, de la poussière de l'enclos des 4 chemins‡*
16. *de la poussière des quatre rues, de la poussière de la grande porte du sanctuaire*
17. *de la poussière de la porte de la maison d'Istar, de la poussière de la maison de l'hiérodoule*
18. *de la poussière de la porte du jardinier, de la poussière de la porte du fournisseur*
19. *de la poussière de la porte du vigneron ? dont la marche est ?*
20. *toutes ces poussières en présence d'Istar*
21. *les mets du sacrifice tu placeras*
22. *du mihhu tu offriras en libation.*

COMMENTAIRE.

L. 5. Ce qu'était le *sabû*, je l'ignore, il paraîtrait cependant que ce personnage, qui nécessitait toutes ces cérémonies, n'était pas un fonctionnaire mais une sorte de vigneron ou d'aubergiste. Pour le mot *sabû* voir le dictionnaire de Meissner.

L. 10. Je n'ai aucune explication de *pihatu* à proposer ; il est évident que ce n'est pas le *pihatu* = satrapie ; l'assyrien possède un verbe *pihû*, qui a le sens de "fermer," "enfermer," boucher," Sm 702 (A.L.³ p. 79) nous donne *dim-mu=pi-hu-u*. Ors nous savons que  signifie "mêler, nouer, entrelacer," ce qui ferait penser, que

* me regardent d'un mauvais œil ?

† IV, R. 55, No. 1, l. 30.

‡ Incertain.

l'araméen **ܢܦܬ** = filet, nasse est le même que l'assyrien **piḥû**. J'ai déterminé la signification de **𐎶𐎵** grâce au mot **šabakilu**, dont j'ai traité dans mes notes de lexicographie (*Revue Sémitique*). Mais je ne saurais dire ce que signifie dans notre passage, l'expression **piḥātu**.

L. 11. **maššad** de **mašâdu**, Del., H.W., p. 428.

L. 17. **giparu** : voir Jensen, *Cosmologie*.

L. 19. ces impératifs sont cités dans Del., H.W., s.v.

L. 20. **kulû** se rencontre dans le nom propre : **Ku-lu-'Istar** (Johns No. 82) ; quant à **bubu**, je le rapproche de **𐎶𐎵** (Payne Smith, p. 461) = canal, conduit d'eau. **kulû** et **bûbu** ne sont pas très clairs dans le passage qui nous occupe ; pour les autres significations de **bûbu** voir Payne Smith. Nous retrouvons ce dernier mot dans une phrase de *šurpû* VIII l. 34 incomplètement traduite par Zimmern : Complétez ainsi : " Von Bann durch *Hacke, Pflug, Canal*, etc., etc." **𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵**, désigne un instrument tranchant, une *houe, pioche*. K. 4017 nous parle des actes qu'un homme croit faire dans ses rêves : s'il prend la houe (**𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵**) telle chose arrivera. Si avec sa houe (ou pioche) au milieu d'une ville il laboure, telle chose arrivera. **𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵**, que j'ai traduit par "charrue" indique plus exactement "le soc de la charrue" et doit se lire *qiqqin* (*qiq-qin*) de *qiqqinu* charrue, comme je l'ai fait remarquer, dans un article qui paraîtra très prochainement dans "les mémoires de la société linguistique de Paris." La lecture de **𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵** n'est pas connue ; en tout cas *ḥašbu* n'est pas improbable, étant donné le sens de l'hébreu **חצב**.

Verso.

5. **𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵** avec **limnu** doit signifier "voir d'un mauvais œil," vouloir du mal à quelqu'un.—

L. 11. Cette phrase est difficile ; **irḥû** de **raḥû**. Ce verbe se rencontre dans les hymnes de Reisner, p. 130, l. 25 et l. 27 ; l. 25, Tu as répandu (littér. inondé) l'inondation de la plaine sur la montagne ;* l. 27, tu as répandu l'eau de la montagne sur la plaine.† *i-du-û-mu* : verbe **𐎶𐎵** ; sens analogue à **raḥû** ?

L. 12. **ši-it-ku-ru-ub** : impératif III₂ de **karâbu**.

* *ri-ḥu-ut ma-a-tum ana šad-i tar-ḥi*.


† *ri-ḥu-ut šad-i ana mâti tar-ḥa-a*

L. 15. bal-lu-ur-tu = clôture, haie ; ce mot revient dans un omen K. 3802, où il désigne, les boucles de la chevelure, mèches de cheveux (*cf.* l'araméen).

La traduction de ces deux textes, quelque imparfaite qu'elle est, permet cependant de se faire une idée assez nette de ce qu'ils renferment. Il s'agit ici d'un personnage, le sabû, qui a vu une infortune quelconque franchir le seuil de sa demeure ; peut-être sa maison a-t-elle été hantée ? Il ne lui reste qu'à faire, ce qu'ont fait de tout temps en Assyrie les malades, les malheureux, les possédés, s'adresser à *l'ašipu*, sorte de prêtre, auquel on reconnaissait le pouvoir de conjurer le malheur. Il est vrai, qu'il n'en est pas question ici, mais tout porte à croire que l'ašipu a procédé à la célébration des cérémonies indiquées ci-dessus. Le rituel diffère suivant les cas et seulement dans quelques détails, mais ce sont toujours les mêmes objets, les mêmes offrandes qu'on place devant la divinité et qu'on invoque suivant des formules qui ne varient jamais. Ce qui nous intéresse ici, c'est la place, que tient la poussière* dans les manipulations réglementaires, et je ne saurais mieux faire que de renvoyer au livre de Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, Vol. I, p. 329 ; il nous apprend, que les Arabes attachent un grand prix à de la terre prise près du tombeau du prophète, et à laquelle ils attribuent une vertu magique. "There are various things," rapporte Lane, "which are regarded in the same light as written charms ; such as dust from the tomb of the Prophet, water from the sacred well of Zem'zem, in the temple of Mek'keh, and pieces of the black silk covering of the Ka'abeh. The water of Zem'zem is much valued for the purpose of sprinkling upon grave-clothes. An Arab, to whom I had given some medicine which had been beneficial to him, in the Sa'ee'd, during my former visit to this country, heard me inquire for some Zem'zem water (as several boats full of pilgrims on their return from Mek'keh were coming down the Nile), and perhaps thought, from my making this inquiry, that I was a pious Moos'lim ; accordingly, to show his gratitude to me, he gave me what I was seeking to obtain. Having gone to his house, he returned to my boat, bringing a small bundle, which he opened before me. 'Here,' said he, 'are some things which, I know, you will value highly. Here are two tin flasks of the water of Zem'zem ; one

* La déesse de la poussière est Zizanu (Šurpu edit. Zimmern, p. 40, l. 7). Pour l'emploi de la poussière comme agent purificateur, voir aussi *Maqlâ*, edit. Tallqvist, p. 106, l. 64 ; IV R. 55, No. 1, obv., l. 3, et IV R., additions, p. 11.

of them you shall have ; you may keep it to sprinkle your winding-sheet with it. This is a *miswa'k* (a tooth-stick) dipped in the water of Zem'zem ; accept it from me ; clean your teeth with it, and they will never ache nor decay.' 'And here,' he added (showing me three small, oblong and flat cakes, of a kind of greyish earth, each about an inch in length, and stamped with Arabic characters, 'In the name of God ! Dust of our land (mixed) with the saliva of some of us'), 'these are composed of earth from over the grave of the Prophet (God favour and preserve him !). I purchased them myself in the noble tomb, on my return from the pilgrimage ; one of them I give to you ; you will find it a cure for every disease ; the second I shall keep for myself ; and the third we will eat together.' Upon this, he broke in halves one of the three cakes, and we each ate our share. I agreed with him (though I had read the inscription) that it was delicious, and I gladly accepted his presents. I was afterwards enabled to make several additions to my Mek'keh curiosities, comprising a piece of the covering of the Ka'abeh, brought from Mek'keh by the sheykh Ibraheem (Burckhardt), and given to me by his legatee 'Osman. A cake composed of dust from the Prophet's tomb is sometimes sewed up in a leather case, and worn as an amulet. It is also formed into lumps of the shape of a pear, and of the size of a small pear, and hung to the railing or screen which surrounds the monument over the grave of a saint, or to the monument itself, or to the windows or door of the apartment which contains it." Si nous nous tournons vers l'Inde, nous trouvons des superstitions, des pratiques analogues. L'Atharva assyro-babylonien et l'Atharva indou sont pénétrés du même souffle ; les croyances primitives en effet ont une racine commune chez tous les peuples. Comme le dit très bien Oldenberg : Die Religion des Veda, p. 59. "Erstrecken wir dann unsre Betrachtung über das indische Gebiet hinaus, so treffen wir zunächst auf die Identität vedischer und avestischer Dämonen benennungen, dann überhaupt auf eine so weitgehende Uebereinstimmung des indischen Geisterglaubens und der indischen Zaubergebräuche mit denjenigen der verwandten so gut wie der allerverschiedensten nicht verwandten Völker, dass an dem Sachverhalt kein zweifel bleiben kann ; wir haben hier das Stratum der uralten, aus den Zeiten der Wildheit sich herschreibenden Vorstellungen und zauberischen Cultformen erreicht, die hinter allem höheren religiösen Wesen wie eine Art religionsgeschichtlicher Steinzeit den Hintergrund bilden.' La poussière, du sable, quelques

mottes de terre font partie des matériaux utilisés par le conjurateur dans le rituel magique de l'Atharva-veda (voir la traduction de Bloomfield). Quelques exemples suffiront pour montrer l'intérêt, qu'engendre la comparaison des textes religieux de l'Assyrie avec ceux de pays, dont on ignore s'il y a jamais eu entr'eux des rapports à aucune époque de l'histoire. P. 257 (traduction de Bloomfield): Le prêtre tout en psalmodiant l'hymne, répand de la poussière et du sable sur la blessure du malade. P. 295: Le prêtre prend de la poussière, la jette dans un fourneau; si elle fait entendre un crépitement, c'est un signe que l'ennemi a été anéanti. P. 314: L'officiant jette de la poussière et la répand sur le malade. P. 453: De la terre ramassée dans tel village sert à une certaine manipulation. L'on sait combien de nos jours encore, les magiciens, conjurateurs, sorciers sont un objet de crainte dans l'Inde.* Il en a été de même en Assyrie; ainsi s'explique cette littérature considérable, qui nous a conservé intactes ces vieilles croyances populaires, qui n'ont jamais disparu mais se sont propagées de pays en pays, à travers les siècles; un touriste babylonien ressuscité qui parcourrait maint canton de la Suisse, y trouverait des superstitions, dont il n'aurait point l'idée de s'étonner. Les Assyriens attachaient une grande importance aux gestes et en particulier à la manière dont on montrait du doigt une personne ou un objet. Voir la seconde tablette šurpu, edit. Zimmern, l. 88, et une tablette de la classe "utukku limnu," K. 224 + K. 2378, Col. IV, verso, l. 25; devant ma face, un rêve favorable, derrière moi une main favorable (uban damiqtim ou uban = ) IV, R. 55, No. 2, obv., l. 7. A côté des grands dieux, qu'il invoque dans ses prières, le pieux assyrien n'oublie jamais ses deux anges gardiens, dieu et déesse qui sont près de lui et veillent sur lui jour et nuit. Il leur rend un culte, leur présente des offrandes, et dans sa maison des statuettes vénérées attestent leur présence. Voir les textes de King, Babylonian Magic, et ceux publiés par Zimmern, B. Religion, Liefer. II, ou *il amêlu* est parfaitement traduit par Schutzgott. Pendant la maladie il a recours à la science des exorcistes, mais souvent ils sont impuissants à le guérir; de là un certain nombre de plaintes comme celle que nous lisons IV, R. 22, No. 2, où le malheureux soupire après la délivrance, que ni le barû, ni le ša'ilu, ni l'âšipu ne peuvent lui donner. Ce n'était qu'alléchés par des dons innombrables que les dieux condescendaient

* Cf. *Indian Life*, par T. C. Oman, Londres, 1889.

à soulager les humains et le rituel se compliquait et, s'étendait d'année en année à la joie des prêtres. Il faut, lorsqu'on étudie la religion assyro-babylonienne se bien pénétrer de cette idée, que jamais les croyances fétichistes ne disparurent; alors même qu'à certaines époques il y eut comme un semblant de monothéisme et que le dieu Mardouk parut trôner seul à Babylone tandis que les autres dieux reculaient de plus en plus dans l'ombre, négligés presque abandonnés et peut-être oubliés même, la superstition populaire resta toujours vivante; au reste la notion du dieu un ne se présenta jamais d'une manière positive au babylonien; Mardouk fut toujours un être bien déterminé, gardant son nom, sa personnalité de même qu'Amon et Phtah en Egypte.* Avant de terminer ce petit travail je voudrais insister sur un point, qui n'a pas été assez mis en lumière par Jastrow dans son livre, je veux parler de l'importance d'Ekour à Nippour au point de vue de l'oracle. Ce vieux sanctuaire a été dès l'origine un lieu de consultation ou le dieu Bêl jouait le rôle d'Apollon à Delphes. C'est ce qui explique la célébrité dont il jouit si longtemps, qui attirait des foules de pèlerins, venus de très loin pour entendre "l'annu kênû" de la bouche du dieu, "mukîn têrêti" (IV, R. 54, No. 2, obv. l. 31), adoré ainsi que sa compagne, Ninkarrak, l'abrakkatt† d'Ekour (IV, R. 56, col. II, l. 15); annu vient de ענה (contra Del. H. W. p. 101, et contra Del. A. L⁴).

NOTE SUPPLÉMENTAIRE.

Dans le petit mémoire sur le magie publié dans cette revue, j'ai attiré l'attention sur un ou deux passages, qui montrent que les Babyloniens attachaient de l'importance aux gestes, à la manière dont on élevait la main et à la direction des doigts. L'on sait en effet, que chez plusieurs peuples, le doigt du magicien impose un saint respect et qu'il n'est point d'acte plus important, que son geste symbolique. Faut-il rappeler ici les passages multiples où le grand roi saisit la main de Bêl, les prières publiées par King, "celles qu'on prononce tandis qu'on élève pieusement la main" et enfin les doigts mystérieux qui écrivirent le *Mené, thekel, oupharsin*? Est-il besoin en outre de montrer que *ilu*, désigne l'être par excellence dont on évite de prononcer le nom sacré mais dont la demeure invisible est

* Cf. *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*, Maspéro, Tome I, p. 122.

† de baru.

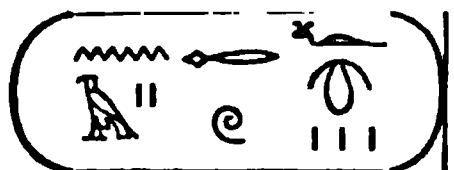
désignée par la main qu'on élève * respectueusement vers le ciel ? Il suffit d'avoir prouvé que dans le rituel magique des Assyriens, le geste constitue un facteur important, et ce fait est confirmé d'une manière frappante par Esaïe lviii, 9 : "Si tu éloignes de toi le מוֹטָה, le montrer du doigt et les mots funestes," etc. מוֹטָה est traduit généralement par *joug*, mais je crois que ce terme indique ici le bâton du magicien ou un instrument analogue, c'est ce qui ressort du contexte. Dans un mémoire publié dans les actes du congrès de Genève, Goldziher a admirablement caractérisé le rôle du poète-magicien chez les anciens Arabes, et a montré certaines analogies entre les formes du rituel magique des Babyloniens et des Arabes. L'on s'étonne de ne trouver dans le commentaire que Cheyne a joint à sa traduction d'Esaïe, aucune note explicative sur le שֶׁלַח אֲצַבֵּעַ ; c'est la raison, qui m'a poussé à donner un peu de développement à cette question et m'a permis de citer un travail de Goldziher, plein de faits nouveaux, auquel il faudra sans cesse recourir.

ALFRED BOISSIER.

PAINTER'S PALETTE.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

Through the kindness of Mr. Whelan, who lent me this painter's palette for the purpose, I am enabled to send it to you for illustration, the chief interest of it is in the cartouche on the front



, which is that of Naifāauruṭ (Nepherites), the first king of the XXIXth dynasty, concerning whom not very much is known. The cartouche on the palette is the same as the one found on some works which he did at Karnak ; the date of his reign is about B.C. 400, or perhaps a little later. Manetho says he reigned six years ; and in Wilkinson's *History of Egypt* mention is made of his having entered into a confederacy with the Lacedæmonians, and that he sent a fleet of 100 ships to their aid, and corn for their army, but the transports were captured by the Persians owing to their having put into Rhodes, which had surrendered to the Persians shortly before. On the back of the palette is a *suten*

* $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} = \text{il.}$

Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Mar. 13, 1901.

**PAINTER'S PALETTE. WOOD.
XXIXTH DYNASTY.**









ta hotep inscription of the usual kind, but with one or two unusual words or perhaps mistakes. The palette was made for a sistrum player named Ast-en-cheb; it is of hard wood, and is $9\frac{7}{8}$ in. long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. broad and $\frac{5}{8}$ in. thick; the lid, now wanting, has slid in a groove on either side $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. long from the end. There are the usual two holes for colours, of which no trace now remains. In the reading of the inscription I have been kindly assisted by Mr. F. Ll. Griffith, F.S.A.









I am,



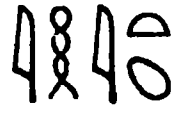



Yours very truly,








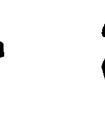
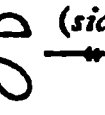
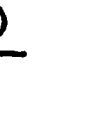



E. TOWRY WHYTE.






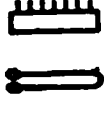
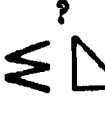

READING OF THE INSCRIPTION

							
Suten	ta	hotep	en	Ptah	Seker	Auser	taf
<i>May give a royal oblation to Ptah Seker Osiris, may give he</i>							

							
per cheru	ah	aptu	repi		tit	neb	
<i>cakes, ale,</i>	<i>oxen, and</i>	<i>ducks</i>	<i>and vegetables</i>			<i>all</i>	<i>to</i>

					
t'et met an	Auser	ahat	en	Amen Ra	
<i>(formula) the</i>	<i>Osiris,</i>	<i>a sistrum player</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>Amen Ra,</i>	

												
Ast	-	en	-	cheb	māāt	cheru	sat	sentra				
<i>Ast - en - cheb</i>					<i>triumphant, daughter of a divine father (?)</i>							

							
en	Amen Ra	suten	neter	Ment'u	....	
<i>of</i>	<i>Amen Ra,</i>	<i>king</i>	<i>of gods</i>	<i>Ment'u</i>	<i>?</i>		

THE "DE DUABUS VIIS"; A NEW LATIN VERSION OF
THE FIRST SIX CHAPTERS OF THE "DIDACHE,"
OR, ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

BY JOSEPH OFFORD AND E. GILBERT HIGHTON, M.A., CANTAB.

Theological Students and the whole Christian Church will remember with what enthusiasm the discovery of the long lost work, the "Didache"; or "Teaching of the Apostles"* was welcomed some sixteen years ago. The literature that accumulated around the new manuscript was voluminous, and no history of early Christianity and its records since published has been without a discussion of its contents, and its testimony to primitive practices.

Fresh documents illustrating the text have from time to time been found, notably about five years ago an Arabic version of the first six chapters of the treatise; but last year a most valuable contribution was published, which is nothing less than a Latin version of the same first portion known as "The Two Ways."†

This has been edited by Herr Joseph Schlecht, without commentary, but collated with the Greek "Jerusalem Codex" text, in a pamphlet recently published at Fribourg, and is of the utmost value for a complete appreciation of the first portion "De Duabus Viis" of the "Didache." The title of the new Latin text, though as explained it contains only the "De Duabus Viis" chapters of the "Teaching of the Apostles," is "De Doctrina Apostolorum" (*i.e.*, an extract from the "D.A."), which appears as if the scribe of the original manuscript, of which Herr Schlecht's one is a copy, was aware that "The Two Ways" formed part of the larger work.

The very first paragraph introduces most interesting literary considerations, for it contains fourteen words not present in the Greek text, it runs:—"Viæ duæ sunt *in sæculo*, vitæ et mortis *lucis et tenebrarum. In his constituti sunt angeli duo, unus æquitatis, alter iniquitatis*"; the new matter is that in italics. The importance of the additions arises from the fact that though this Latin text is a

* Published by Bryennios, when Metropolitan of Nicomedia, in 1883, under the title of Διδαχή τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων; it will be alluded to as A.

† Doctrina XII Apostolorum; una cum antiqua versione latina prioris partis de Duabus Viis: primum edidit, Joseph Schlecht.

later one than the Greek of A, and therefore the additions might naturally be attributed to scribes subsequent to the era of the archetype of A, yet the extra matter evidently appeared in the Greek version known and utilised by Barnabas, which obviously must have been a very early text indeed.

A comparison of his paraphrase, or working up, of this introduction to the Latin "Didache" in his Epistle will at once make his indebtedness to a document of similar wording apparent. He says, Epistle XVIII, "Two ways there are of teaching and of authority, *one of light and one of darkness*, over one are set light bearing *Angels* of God, and over the other *Angels* of Satan, and the former is lord from eternity to eternity; but the latter is prince of the present time of *iniquity*." The words indicating the connexion between his text and that of the newly found "Duæ Viæ" are shown by italics.

From this it is evident that a complete form of the first paragraph of the "Didache," identical with that in our Latin "Two Ways," was known to Barnabas; and therefore the Bryennios, A, text is a shorter recension than that he used, and shorter than that from which the original translator, from the Greek, of the Latin version of which Herr Schlecht's codex is a copy, derived his text.

Proceeding to compare the Greek A text of chapter I with the new Latin version, it is remarkable that from lines 10 to 35, which embrace the main portion of the chapter, and a line or two of chapter II, there is in the Latin version a long lacuna. This lacuna in the text however apparently existed in one series, or family, of the earliest representatives of the Greek text, immediately after the composition of the treatise, because it appears to have existed in the manuscripts of the work used by the authors of the "Apostolic (or Ecclesiastical) Canons"; "the Syntagma Doctrina"; and the "Didascalia" or "Faith of the 318 Fathers," the missing matter was also evidently unknown to Barnabas. But it was in some of the primitive codices, because it forms part of the "Didache" basis of the almost equally early work the "Apostolic Constitutions." Strange however to say the Schlecht Latin text gives the first sentence of the absent matter "Interpretatio autem horum verborum haec est."

There is another very singular fact in regard to the major portion of chapter I being wanting in the newly found Latin text that tends to prove that though absent in this codex it was evidently present in some manuscripts of the "Two Ways," or perhaps of the whole

"Didache" current in the middle ages, because the Greek A, MS., gives for the terminating sentence of the chapter a sort of proverbial instruction to "Let thine alms sweat in thy hands until thou knowest to whom thou shouldest give." Now in a charity sermon by Abelard, preached for the benefit of the Paraclete Monastery, he says, "Sed sudet, sicut scriptum est eleemosyna, in manu tua donec invenias qui dignus est," the eleemosyna being direct from the Greek version. It is just possible that Abelard may therefore have been translating, for the benefit of his hearers, from the Greek, but it seems more probable that he quoted direct from some Latin source, especially as he uses the Latin words "sicut scriptum est," apparently showing that he was quoting from a Latin text.

The new Latin text does not throw any fresh light upon the second and third chapters, but in the fourth it decides in favour of a conjectural emendation of the Greek of A in favour of reading *ποδῆσεις* for *ποιήσεις*, thus changing "thou shalt not desire division" (or schism), into the better, "thou shalt not make schism." It also adds a few words to the same sentence which is completed by "thou shalt judge justly, knowing *that thou shalt be judged*" (*sciens quod tu judicaberis*, being new), and changes "Thou shalt not respect persons in reproving for transgressions," into "Non deprimes quemcunque in casu suo."* "Thou shalt not silence a man in (defending) his own case."

Passing now to lines 95–100 of the Greek, and still in chapter IV, the Latin version presents a valuable variant in the wording of one sentence, and immediately follows it with an additional sentence. The first instance is in regard to the expression, "For if ye are partners in that which is imperishable, how much more in perishable things," which is a literal rendering of the Greek. The Latin gives a more pregnant expression, as will be seen by a free rendering of it thus:—"For if ye are partners in that which is eternal (immortal), how much more in the commencing here (upon earth) ought ye to be partners," the thought being, that as Christians are to be partners in all the riches and glories of heaven, how much more should they share the minor possessions of perishable property here below? The new sentence succeeding the above interesting variant is, "omnibus enim dominus dare vult de donis suis," for the Lord is willing to

* This alteration may have arisen from the Latin translator not having understood *παρεπρωμασιν*, because when the word occurs again, line 109, he omits the sentence, perhaps to avoid it.

give to every one of His own gifts (or graces). A little further on, a sentence which has been rendered from the Greek, "For He comes not to call men according to the appearance, but to those whom the Spirit hath made ready." In the Latin this reads, "For He came not to call persons (but those) in whom He finds a humble spirit."

Another sentence is perhaps intensified thus:—for the Greek, "Thou shalt hate every hypocrisy and whatever is not pleasing to the Lord," the Latin reads, "*and shalt not do* whatever is not pleasing to the Lord." Whereas in the next sentence the Latin slightly diminishes the force; for in speaking of the commandment, "to keep what thou hast received, neither adding to it or taking from it," which is the Greek version, the Latin interpolates, "neither adding, *things contrary*, to it nor taking from it."

Strange to say a very sacerdotal sentence of the Greek, "In church thou shalt confess thy transgressions," which a cleric might be imagined to specially desire to retain, is omitted in the Latin.

Passing now to chapter V, which is a description of the way of death; or of deeds of the wicked; in the opening sentence—for the Greek—"But the way of death is this," the Latin says, "But the way of death is contrary to this," and in the long category of misdemeanours the Latin adds, "not fearers of God."

The final portion of this chapter differs so much from the A codex that it is better to give the two side by side:—

DE DUABUS VIIS.

Far from whom is meekness, and pride very near; revengeful pursuers, not pitying a poor man; not grieving for one who grieves, not knowing Him that made them; murderers of their own children, abortionists; turning themselves from good works, oppressing those in distress, avoiding the advocacy of the just.*

ΔΙΑΔΑΧΗ.

Far from whom are meekness and patience, loving varieties, pursuing revenge, not pitying a poor *man*, not toiling for one in distress, not knowing him that made them, murderers of children, destroyers of God's workmanship, turning away from the needy, oppressing the afflicted, advocates of the rich, lawless judges of the poor, universal sinners; may ye be delivered children from these.

* Quorum longe est mansuetudo et superbia proxima, persequentes remuneratores, non miserantes pauperum, non dolentes pro dolente, non scientes genitorem suum, peremptores filiorum suorum, abortuantes, avertentes se a bonis operibus, deprimentes laborantem, advocaciones justorum devitantes.

The opening lines of the last short chapter of the new manuscript appear to indicate a Greek codex as basis differing not only in the wordings but in some senses in the ideas expressed. As the paragraph is but a short one, the divergence can best be exemplified by a parallel rendering.

DE DUABUS VIIS.

But my son carefully abstain from all these (evils) and take care that no one draws thee away from this doctrine ; but if thou fall short of this thou shalt be taught without discipline (*i.e.*, of the church).

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ.

See that no one lead thee astray from this way of the teaching because apart from God doth he teach thee.

A paragraph of the Greek relating to the profession of Christainity as the "yoke of the Lord," and especially prohibiting the partaking of food offered to idols, is absent in the Latin, which tends to suggest that this Latin version was not translated from the Greek until such a date that paganism was extinct and the prohibition therefore unnecessary. The Latin however concludes with the following paragraphs not present in A, the origin of which may, perhaps, be cleared up by a collation with the Arabic version, in the "Life of Schnoudi," published by Iselin.*

"If after taking counsel thou shalt daily do these things thou wilt be nigh to the living God, but if thou shalt not do them thou wilt be far from the truth. Lay up all these things in thy mind and thou shalt not be beguiled of thy hope. But by these sacred exercises thou wilt arrive at the crown ; through (our) Lord Jesus Christ, who reigns and rules with God the Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever.—Amen.†

It should be noted that the first eleven lines of Herr Schlecht's text are practically identical with the fragment of the commencement of the "Didache," or its "Two Ways," preparatory chapters, discovered in a Melk manuscript, and edited by Gebhardt, entitled "Doctrina Apostolorum."

* L. Iselin "Eine bisher unbekannte Version des ersten Theiles der Apostellehre." Leipzig, 1895.

† Haec in consulendo si cotidie feceris prope eris vivo deo ; quod si non feceris, longe eris a veritate. Haec omnia tibi in animo pone : et non deciperis de spe tuâ. Sed per haec sancta certamina pervenies ad coronam per Dominum Iesum Christum regnantem et dominantem cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto in saeculo saeculorum.—Amen.


From the discovery of the new "De Duabus Viis," and Iselin's Arabic version of similar portions only of the "Didache," it would seem that codices containing the portion only of the "Teaching of the Apostles" were at some period current; also that whenever quotations from the "Two Ways" are found in patristic writers, if the author does not allude to, or quote from, the subsequent matter of the "Didache," we can never be certain that at his epoch more than the "Two Ways" part of the "Didache" was current; and even should he speak of a work entitled "De Doctrina Apostolorum," his evidence as to its existence in his time in its *complete* form, as in the Bryennios manuscript, is considerably minimised.

THE FRASER SCARABS.


BY F. LL. GRIFFITH.

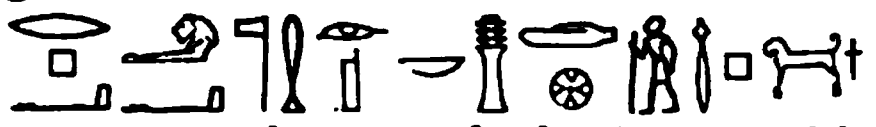
No one can now complain that scarabs are not receiving sufficient attention. Mr. Loftie's *Essay* and Professor Petrie's *Historical Scarabs*, with its vast collection of drawings, are long since out of print and almost unattainable at second hand. At this moment Mr. Ward is giving us beautiful photographic reproductions of his collection, and now we have Mr. Fraser's *Catalogue*, of which we cannot but admire the clear, neat, and concise method of publication, worthy to serve as the model for similar work. The figures are not indeed photographic, but they are so well drawn by the conscientious and loving hand of the collector, that though still inferior to photographs as copies, they are superior in clearness. There is, however, one suggestion that I should like to offer. Would it not have been well to have drawn some type-specimens to show the most important variations of the backs, and to have referred to these in describing each scarab or each group? There are certain indications to be found on the backs of scarabs which are very important as evidence of date. In his introduction, Mr. Fraser does not insist on this matter sufficiently, and his descriptions do not refer to it at all.

The collection itself is very fine, apart from the unique and

mighty scarab of the wild cattle hunt, to which a photograph forming the frontispiece of the book is rightly devoted. The legends on about 500 examples here figured are royal names, private names, good wishes, etc. They are for the most part well rendered by Mr. Fraser, whose work on this score is very creditable to an amateur, far from books of reference and closely engaged in another profession. The following notes or corrections may be useful. Nos. 75-6 : the name of the princess, according to the order of the signs, especially as given in 76, is , Nefert-uben-Anket.

No. 78 : "the lady of the house Nub-khus, wife of the *ha* Ren-senb."

No. 90 :  is the man's name, being a title of Sebek in the Faiyum (*cf.* MacGregor cylinder in *Kah. Pap.*, p. 77, note to XXXII, 13).* The names and titles in the numbers following this are often easily recognisable from a knowledge of the papyri and stelæ of the Middle Kingdom.

Nos. 395-7 : scarabs of  must have been obtained in some numbers, no doubt from Busiris in the Delta. I have seen specimens in glazed pottery in Mr. Ward's collection (Ward, Pl. VII, No. 279), in Professor Petrie's collection at University College, and in Mr. MacGregor's collection at Tamworth. The latter collection also furnishes us with evidence as to the identity of Pimai in certain rectangular glazed pottery plaques, evidently from a foundation deposit—from which also the scarabs were probably derived,—inscribed with the names of this chief and of his sovereign. One inscription is as follows :






The Pimai of the scarabs, therefore, is not the prince of Busiris of that name who is mentioned on the Piankhy Stela (l. 116), as I had suggested to Mr. Ward (see p. 26 of *P.S.B.A.* for January of the

* Daressy has just found the place-name in this title spelt out R-Sh.wy, Re-Sekui, *Rec. de Trav.* XXII, 138.

† That is "Pi-mai" the last sign being intended for the lion.

present year), but probably a descendant, son or grandson, and one of the members of the Dodecarchy who agreed to the suzerainty of Psammetichus I.

No. 172 is , Queen Tauta, of whom I obtained a scarab, likewise at Tell el Yahudiyeh, in 1887 (see *Antiquities of Tell el Yahudiyeh*, Pl. X, 3). No. 405 is of Peduhor-pakhred. No. 436 is of "the *sab* Amenhotep."

The good-wish scarabs are seldom easy to interpret. One of the commonest and clearest types is that of No. 450 , "May thy name remain and thy child succeed (or mayest thou have a child)." No. 445 may be ,* "Good success (?); mayest thou beget a son." No. 466 is, "Mut give long life." Nos. 438, 439 must be, "O Ptah of beautiful countenance, that givest wealth !"

NOTE ON SCARAB 384, PLATE XV IN PART 2,
VOL. XXIII OF THE *PROCEEDINGS* (BELONGING
TO MR. JOHN WARD).

Mr. John Ward kindly continues his publication of scarabs. Scarab 384 is described by Mr. Ward as "Two cynocephalus apes and unknown symbol in centre."

I think I can prove that this scarab is Bes and an ape drinking, or about to drink, out of tubes inserted into an amphora; that the "unknown symbol" is a large jar, and that drinking out of tubes was a Syrian custom in the time of the afterwards heretic king Amenhotep IV, as is shown on the Berlin stele of a Syrian mercenary of this date, which is figured in Steindorff's *Die Blütezeit des Pharaonenreichs*, 1900, fig. 50.

Bes's peculiar head-dress of feathers is clearly given on Mr. Ward's

* Possibly a *double entendre* is aimed at: "Mayest thou knock over the wild fowl (with the throw-stick)" being the alternative.

scarab 384; his tail is distinctly shown; that this god was connected with wine is curiously depicted in Caylus's *Recueil d'Antiquités*, Vol. IV, plate IV, where he still has his feathers, but no tail. Two large bunches of grapes are on each side of his head; a two-handled amphora on a stand of Egyptian shape is behind him. A lyre is roughly drawn on his left. This Caylus design is apparently of late date and seems a mingling of Bes and Bacchus.

Private persons drinking through a tube inserted in a krater are rare on scarabs. I only know of two such: the scarab 3704, Case F, in the British Museum, where the drinking person and the krater are both on the camp-stool form of seat, and a broken scarab in the Bristol Museum, which is too much injured to see the shape of the drinking person's seat. Scarab 3704 has the filling-up round dots which mark the foreign-influenced scarab, found especially in the Delta. The Bristol Museum scarab's provenance is Tell el-Yahûdiéh.

In Birch's *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. II, page 314, there are two bare-headed men, presumably priests(?); one wears a skin and is drinking by a tube from one of a set of three jars on a stand, and is squeezing two other tubes into another vessel. Still more curious is an ivory plaque from Præneste, with a seated worthy on a boat, and offerings being made to him by two persons of Egyptian type; the third person is drinking by a very distinct tube out of a large krater; there are also two boatmen, one at each end, punting the boat. This unique plaque is published by MM. Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Phœnicia*, Vol. II.

Of Bes-drinking scarabs there is a remarkable example in the Ashmolean Museum, from Jerusalem, I suppose bought there. It is steatite, and in bad condition, rough work. Bes is doubled on this scarab, and dancing in his usual side attitude with his hands up in the attitude of worship; the tubes join themselves to his mouth; the krater has a stand. Also in Dorow and Klaproth's *Antiquités Égyptiennes*, Plate XIV, 721, Bes is very distinctly drawn holding the tube, which is inserted into an amphora with handles on a stand. There is no stand to the vessel on Mr. John Ward's scarab 384.

Tube-drinking from a krater also appears on cylinders, especially on the North Syrian variety. Three examples of tube-drinking cylinders, one at Berlin, one in the British Museum, and one at Paris, are figured in *Culte de Mithra* by Lajard. There are two tube-drinking cylinders in the Ashmolean Museum, and one in the Leyden Museum.

I am writing an illustrated paper on Bes Scarabs which represent the god in combination with animals, the ox head, and the extended hand. This is a very rare class of scarab, for out of some thousands I have only noticed seven examples, respectively in the possession of the British Museum (two); the Ashmolean, Berlin and Louvre Museums, Mr. McGregor and Lady Meux have one each. If any Members of the S.B.A. could send me drawings of any such scarabs, in addition to those mentioned, to the care of Mr. Rylands, I should be greatly obliged.

ALICE GRENFELL.

NOTES ON GEN. vi, 16, ISA. xviii, 1, AND PROV. xxx, 15.

I.—*Gen. vi, 16.*

The construction of the ark as a refuge for the representative, or representatives, of mankind at the Deluge, has been recently treated afresh from an Assyriological point of view. I venture to take up anew one of the details of the Hebrew narrative. "A window shalt thou make to the ark," "A light shalt thou make to the ark," are the renderings in A.V. and R.V. respectively of **לַתְּבָה | תַּעֲשֶׂה צֹהַר** in Gen. vi, 16. But the vertical line, or Pasek, following **צֹהַר** warns us to suspect the text. In fact, the LXX have *ἐπισυνάγων*, which Mr. Ball and other scholars take to imply a misreading **צָבַר**. I do not know that there is any authority for this view; *ἐπισυνάγω* is not uncommon in LXX, and never represents **צָבַר**. It remains therefore for us to make some other critical inference from the Greek word, for neither Mr. Ball's defence of the *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον* **צֹהַר**, nor any other known to me, can be called altogether satisfactory. *ἐπισυναγιων*, as it seems to me, is not improbably a corruption; and remembering some other corruptions in the Greek Bible, I think it likely that it comes out of *καπνοδοχήν*. *καπνοδοχή*, i.e., a smoke-hole, is used by Theodotion as a rendering

of **אַרְבֵּה** in Hos. xiii, 3, where E.V.'s 'chimney' is suitable enough. But **אַרְבֵּה** also means a window; so in Eccles. xii, 3, and in Gen. vii, 11, viii, 2, the English version gives this rendering ('the windows of heaven'). Gen. vi, 16, vii, 11, and viii, 2, are all assigned by analytic criticism to the narrator known as P (the Priestly Writer). When the **ב** in **אַרְבֵּה** had become indistinct, it became natural for **אַרְבֵּה** to be corrupted into **צֹהַר**. For the corruption of **א** into **צ**, see Isa. i, 13, where *νηστεία* = **צוֹם** corresponds to the **אֵין** of the Massoretic Text.

II.—Isa. xviii, 1.

In Prof. Haupt's magnificently planned edition of the Old Testament—the Hebrew section—I adopted the view put forward by Duhm, and since adopted also by Marti, that **אֲשֶׁר מֵעֵבֶר לְנַהֲרֵי כוּשׁ** is a prosaic and inexact geographical gloss on the preceding address to the land of Cush. Certainly, if the text is correct, it must be so (see Marti's note). In reality, however, it is nothing of the kind; scholars have not looked closely enough into the text to see whether it has been correctly transmitted, nor have they borne in mind the possibilities of error established by the discovery of corruptions in other passages. The words in question are, I believe, a second representation of the prophet's address to the land which had just now sent ambassadors to Jerusalem. **מֵעֵבֶר** comes from **מִשְׁבְּרֵי**, and this, as in 2 Sam. xxii, 5, Ps. xlii, 8, lxxxviii, 8, xciii, 4, Jon. ii, 4, is a corruption of **שְׁבָלֵי**. **אֲשֶׁר**, as elsewhere (*i.e.*, Obad. 20) comes from **אֶרֶץ**. **לְנַהֲרֵי** represents **גִּיחוֹן**. In the first part of v. 1 **כְּגֹל כְּנָפִים** (so great a trouble to scholars who have not looked closely into the text) is most probably a corruption of **שְׁבָלֵי גִיחוֹן**; the **ב** in **ש'** was misplaced and became **כ**. The rest needs no long explanation. **ח** and **פ** are often confounded by scribes; **כּוּשׁ** was omitted, and afterwards replaced by the scribe at the end of the verse. As the result, v. 1 assumes this form—

הִי כוּשׁ | אֶרֶץ שְׁבָלֵי גִיחוֹן

'Ha, Cush! | land of the streams of Gihon!'

גִּיחוֹן (Gihon), as Dr. Haupt has pointed out, is probably the name

of the upper or Ethiopian course of the Nile, יֵאֹר (Yě'ōr) being that of the lower or Egyptian course. For Winckler's theory that 'Cush' here means Kaš, *i.e.*, S. Babylonia (*Alttest. Untersuchungen*, pp. 150–156) there is very little to be said; it involves some very doubtful assumptions.

III.—*Prov.* xxx, 15.

The horseleach hath two daughters, (crying) Give, give.

On 'horseleach' R.V. gives this marginal note, 'Or, vampire;' and this on '(crying),' 'Or, called.' The Hebrew text has—

לְעִלּוּקָה | שְׁתֵּי בָנוֹת הֵי הֵב

עִלּוּקָה, according to the LXX and Vg., means 'horseleach.' The pertinacity of the leach is thought to justify the statement that it has 'two daughters, Give, give;' 'crying' is the insertion of our version. In the Targum on Ps. xii, 8, an oppressor is compared to a leach. Others think that there is an allusion to the 'ālûk of the Arabs, a female demon like a vampire (*cf.* Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidenthums*, second edition, p. 149). However we explain the passage, its brevity and obscurity are surprising. One thing has been omitted, and that is the examination of the text. עִלּוּקָה ought, one would think, to be the name of the author of the following sayings. Is there any name of which עִלּוּקָה can be a corruption? There is; but it may startle some to hear it. From a pretty large collection of analogous corruptions I think myself justified in emending לְקַהֲלָת, 'to Hakkoheleth.' Koheleth, as all know, is the Hebrew title of Ecclesiastes, and according to the Massoretic text the name of the supposed speaker of the monologues in that book. The earlier form of the reading in the book itself is *hakkoheleth*. The origin of the title I have explained in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II, Col. 2686. In the same place I have also shown what is most probably the true form of the title of the strange little poem commonly ascribed to 'Agur, ben Jakeh.' The title should run thus—

'The words of the guilty man Hakkoheleth (דְּבַרֵּי הַגֹּבֵר) (לְמַאמְרֵי אֵל) to those that believe in God (הַאֲשֵׁם הַקֹּהֵלָת).'

The poem gave offence to early readers, one of whom apparently controverts it in Prov. xxx, 5, 6. To the same person, *i.e.*, the supposed writer of Ecclesiastes, the little group of sayings in Prov. xxx, 15^b, *c*, and 16, is ascribed by the title misread לעלוקה. The next words, שתי בנות הב, are simply a corruption of תשבֿעֿנה הנה, which is a duplication of two words occurring in the first line of the following saying. They may therefore be ignored.

T. K. CHEYNE.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday, May 8th 1901, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

W. L. NASH, F.S.A.—“Notes from Egypt.”

SIR H. H. HOWORTH.—“Some unconventional Views on the Text of the Bible.”



PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY

THIRTY-FIRST SESSION, 1901.

Fourth Meeting, 8th May, 1901.

F. D. MOCATTA, F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—Dr. Oscar von Lemm. *Kleine Koptische Studien*, XXI–XXV. *Acad. Impér. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 1901.

From the Author:—Prof. Dr. A. Wiedemann. *Neue Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in Ägypten*. *Die Umschau*, Nos. 14 and 15. 30th March and 6th April, 1901.

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S. J.:—*Della stela del Foro e della sua Iscrizione Arcaica*. *Civiltà Cattolica*. 20th April, 1901.

From F. Legge. *A History of Egypt*. Vol. VI. *In the Middle Ages [640–1517]*. By Stanley Lane Poole, M.A., Litt.D. London. 8vo. 1901.

[No. CLXXV.]

The following candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated in March :—

Herbert Thompson, 35, Wimpole Street, W.

William Hoyt Worrell, Michigan University.

The following candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting on June the 12th :—

John William Mather, 206, Mare Street, Hackney, N.E.

D. Van Hoytema, Obreehtstraat, 96, The Hague, Holland.

Rev. Bernard B. Wood Smith, Missions to Seamen Institute,
East India Road, Poplar, E.

The following Paper was read :—

WALTER L. NASH, F.S.A. : "Notes from Egypt," which will be published in a future Part of the *Proceedings*.

Remarks were added by Mr. Percy E. Newberry, Sir H. H. Howorth, and the Chairman.

Paper by Sir H. H. Howorth, "Some Unconventional Views on the Text of the Bible."

The thanks of the Meeting were returned for these communications.

SOME UNCONVENTIONAL VIEWS ON THE TEXT OF THE BIBLE.

BY SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.S.A.

I.

The Apocryphal Book Esdras A and the Septuagint.

It is singular that so little space should be occupied in the memoirs of a Society like ours (professedly devoted to the study of Biblical Archæology), by the direct as contrasted with the illustrative discussion of the Bible-text, a matter which has occupied so much attention elsewhere.

I propose to very partially and inadequately fill a small part of this gap, and shall begin by recurring to some issues which I raised elsewhere several years ago, in one or two of which the position I maintained is now widely accepted.

In the Hebrew manuscript Bibles "Chronicles" are not divided into two books, but form a continuous narrative, and, as we shall show presently, the same was the case with the Septuagint. The division no doubt originated with the Christians, and occurs in all the Christian Bibles both Greek and Latin. It was probably the handiwork of Origen. It was copied, however, by the Jews in the Bomberg edition of the printed text, 1516-17, and then passed into Hebrew printed Bibles. There is no break in the matter of the work to justify such a division, and if we are to restore the Bible text to its pristine condition, we must integrate the two books again into one.

It is an equally plain and elementary fact that the second book of Chronicles ends quite abruptly in the middle of a sentence, and if we are to complete the sentence and the narrative, we must go on

to the book of Ezra, and at least to the end of the first chapter of that book. It is, therefore, plain and universally admitted that not only did Chronicles originally form one book, but also that that book included the book of Ezra. Ezra is treated, however, as a separate book in all Hebrew Bibles, MS. and printed, as well as in all the Greek texts now extant, so that it must have been separated at an early date. As we shall show, however, there was no such separation in the Septuagint, and it no doubt took place after that translation was made.

A remarkable and interesting fact about this separation is that in every codex, Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, there is at the point of junction of Chronicles and Ezra, where the narratives of those books come together, a duplication of two verses. The last two verses of Chronicles and the first two of Ezra are the same in language and matter. This duplication, which is of course perfectly well known, must have been the work of some scribe who, by an act of forgetfulness, repeated at the top of a new folio the two verses which had been written at the foot of the preceding folio, and this repetition must have been in some arch-type among MSS. to which special authority or sanctity attached, and which, therefore, became a model-text followed by the others.

Inasmuch as the duplication occurs in all the Hebrew Bible MSS., it is quite plain that this mother MS. must have been a Hebrew one. The Jews are not likely to have taken over a duplication in the text like this, which is a mere scribe's blunder, from the Christians. It may, in fact, be put alongside of other well-known features of the Hebrew Bibles scrupulously retained by the Masorets, such as the existence of great and small letters and the so-called *literæ suspensæ*, etc. which have led some of the best modern critics such as Rosenmüller, Olshausen, Nöldeke, Lagarde, Kuenen Buhl, etc., to the conclusion that the Masoretic text is in fact ultimately dependent upon one mother MS. The presence of the duplication in all the Christian Bibles, is a proof of the early influence of the Masoretic text upon them. The duplication in question was doubtless coincident with the separation of Chronicles from Ezra, which was no doubt again the work of the redactors of the Masoretic text, who probably wished in this way to give special prominence and distinction to their hero Ezra. From them it passed into the Christian Bibles. In those Christian Bibles, while the two books in question were separated from each other and given separate

headings, they were made to follow each other in the natural order of the books, Ezra following upon Chronicles in natural sequence, so that the duplication in question is very obvious.

In the Hebrew Bibles, on the other hand, not only was the once continuous book separated into two, but these two were torn asunder, and their order was either transposed, or a number of other books were interpolated between them, so that in no single Hebrew MS. referred to by Dr. Ginsburg in his well-known monograph on the Hebrew text, does the book of Ezra *follow* Chronicles. In one section of Hebrew MSS. Chronicles is placed at the end of the Hagiographa, and is *preceded* instead of being followed by Ezra, while in the other, Chronicles forms the first book of the Hagiographa and Ezra the last.

This is a curious fact, and it shows that in no instance does the order of the books in the Hebrew Bibles follow the primitive, or even the logical rule, but that their order was prescribed with a purpose. We can hardly doubt it was due to the redactors and custodians of the Masoretic text.

The true primitive order, in this instance at all events, was preserved as we shall see in the Septuagint, where Ezra follows Chronicles. The fact is interesting as showing that the order of the books as it occurs in the Hebrew texts is of no value for critical purposes or otherwise, except as proving how, when it suited their purpose, the Masorets did not scruple to interfere with the Bible text. I may add that the wrenching asunder of Chronicles and Ezra, and their occurring in different places in the Hebrew Bibles, doubtless disguised the absurdity of the duplication of the two verses already referred to, which is doubly absurd when retained in our modern Bibles, since it is obviously a scribe's error, and must cause only puzzle and wonderment to the unsophisticated reader.

The position of Ezra among the other books of the Bible, is not the only point in regard to that book in which the Septuagint differs from the Masoretic Bible. A very much more important thing remains, which is really the subject matter of this paper. In the Hebrew Bibles the book of Ezra occurs in one rescension only; in the early Greek Bibles it occurs in two. That is to say, in the latter we have not merely a duplication of two verses, but a duplication of a whole book. The duplication of Ezra is contained in the so-called Apocrypha in our English Bibles, and is there abelled Esdras I, while in the Vulgate it is remitted to an Appendix

and labelled Esdras III, but in the great uncial MSS. it is labelled Esdras A, and it is by this title I shall refer to it. The change of title in the two former cases, shows the scant courtesy it has received at the hands both of Roman Catholic and Protestant Theologians. This treatment, as I shall hope to show, is the very reverse of what it deserves. Esdras A occupies no such position of inferiority in the old Greek MSS., where no distinction is made between it and the rest of the books of the Bible in regard to canonicity or authority.

As I have said, the canonical Ezra and the so-called apocryphal Esdras A are merely two rescensions, or editions, of one book. With the exception of one particular story, namely that of Darius and the three young men, which is excluded from the canonical Ezra, and of some smaller differences, the two books contain in essence the same materials. These materials are arranged in a different order but they are essentially the same.

Esdras A is therefore in quite a different position to the other so-called apocryphal books, all of which are substantive and separate works, while this one is a mere edition of a book which is universally accepted as canonical.

The occurrence of two editions of the same work in the same ancient *codices* of the Bible, and especially in those imperial and costly codices known as uncials, which must have been the result of painstaking preparation, is surely a fact to arrest attention. It is a most remarkable fact, and full of suggestiveness. It cannot be explained as a mere freak or accident, and must have had a meaning and a purpose.

It is equally extraordinary that such a remarkable circumstance should have received so little illuminating comment at the hands of the critics, both German critics and those critics in England, who so often prefer to fill the *rôle* of the moon towards the German sun and to shine by borrowed light.

This is probably due to the fact that the majority of these critics have been Hebrew scholars *first* and critics of the Bible *second*, and to them the Hebrew Bible has been the only one really authoritative and worth studying. Inasmuch as the apocryphal book of Esdras A does not occur in Hebrew, it has been superciliously thrust aside as worthless and corrupt and unworthy of serious study, as it was by the progenitor of these champions of the Masoretic text, that tempestuous Father, Jerome.

Their view will not commend itself to a good many scholars in

this country now, where a determined effort is being made to show that the theory of the Hebraists here referred to, has been pressed much too far and is unsound. To them the presence of two versions, or editions, of the same book in such venerable documents as the great Greek uncials, must be a matter not merely of surprise and wonder, but one demanding serious explanation. How then came it about, and what is the origin and history of the two texts?

In regard to the canonical Ezra there is neither doubt nor difficulty. There is not a tittle of evidence that it ever existed in the Septuagint at all, but the very reverse. As it occurs in the Greek Bibles it is a very literal and servile translation of the Hebrew, or Masoretic, text. It follows it in eccentricities of diction and otherwise, and I do not know anyone who now disputes the fact that it represents the Masoretic text in a Greek translation. The only three Greek translations of the Masoretic text we know anything about which were early enough to have been incorporated in the great uncials, were those of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus. It seems to follow almost as a certainty that the Greek text of the canonical Ezra must have come from one of these three translators. Inasmuch as the Christians seem to have specially favoured Theodotion's translation, as witnessed by its displacing the Septuagint text of the book of Daniel in the Greek Bibles, the probability is that this translation also was made by Theodotion, and the problem is at least worth testing minutely by someone with more leisure and skill than I have.

What is rather remarkable is, that while Theodotion's translation of Daniel displaced the older Greek translation from the great Bible MSS. in regard to Ezra, Theodotion's translation—for so I shall take it to be until the reverse is proved—is found side by side with another translation.

This being the history of the Greek text of the canonical Ezra, what about the Greek text of the corresponding narrative in Esdras A? Some of the German critics who accept the Masoretic text as the supreme authority, have had little difficulty in answering the latter question. Not having been able to find the book anywhere in a Hebrew dress, they have argued that Esdras A is a mere recast and compilation from the Greek versions of the canonical books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. This view has been maintained by Keil, by Schürer, by Bissell, and others. It has been, however, completely demolished by the critical examination

of the text of Esdras A, which has shown that, in the words of Mr. Thackeray in Hasting's *Bible Dictionary*, it is no *réchauffée* of the other Greek text, but a direct and independent translation from the Hebrew, a view accepted by Michælis, Trendelenburg, Pohlmann, Herzfeld, Fritzche, and others (see article Esdras, Hasting's *Dictionary*, p. 759).

I pointed out long ago, that my friend Dr. Ginsburg, in Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, had shown by many quotations that the text of Esdras A must have been directly and independently translated from the Hebrew. Another accomplished friend, the Rev. C. J. Ball, has also pointed out many places in Esdras A in which distinct Hebraisms can be traced. Edward Reuss, in his elaborate history of the Old Testament writings, has also called attention to the same fact. Lastly, Mr. Thackeray has given almost a column of such instances in small type, and he adds the comment, to which I entirely subscribe: "These few instances out of many show beyond a doubt that the compiler (or the author of the version he is using), had a knowledge of the Hebrew as against the other Greek version, and that Esdras A is an important authority for a critical emendation of the Hebrew text" (*op. cit.*, p. 760).

The fact that it is no *réchauffée* version, but an independent translation from the Hebrew, adds greatly of course to the interest and importance of the book, for the original from which it was translated was clearly a text considerably different from the Masoretic text. Let us therefore try and fix its origin and history a little more definitely.

In the first place it is clearly a very old text, and was apparently universally accepted as canonical until Jerome's extraordinary pronouncement against it, which so generous a critic as Dr. Lupton describes as "Jerome's somewhat arbitrary decision," and it continued to be accepted long after by some of the most reputable and famous of the Fathers. It occurs in the Vatican MS. It probably, as has been shown, occurred in the Sinaitic one, which has lost some leaves here, and in which the heading Esdras B seems to presuppose a heading Esdras A, and certainly in the Alexandrian, and in fact in every early Greek Bible wherever written. I do not know of a doubt having been raised about its value and authority until, as I say, Jerome, classing it with the entirely different apocalyptic book now called Esdras II in our Bibles and Esdras IV in the Vulgate, thrust it aside. It is, as Pohlmann says, quoted

apparently as authoritative in the Apostolical Constitutions, by Justin Martyr and Theophilus of Antioch, and certainly so by Clemens Alex., Origen (the greatest and profoundest of ancient Biblical critics), and by a whole catena of their successors.

It not only occurred, so far as we know, in all the early Greek codices, but in them it filled the place of honour, the canonical Ezra being relegated to the second place. It was in fact headed in them Esdras A, while its companion was headed Esdras B, showing that, in the opinion of the scribes and editors of these MSS., it had a greater relative authority, if not a greater antiquity.

It was Jerome who first displaced this heading and gave it the new style of Esdras III which it has in the Vulgate.

At the Council of Trent (when the Septuagint Canon was virtually accepted as authoritative), by a most curious aberration, Esdras III and IV and the Epistle of Manasseh were alone excluded from the Canon and remitted to an appendix, a kind of "suspense account." This was probably due to Jerome's famous phrase about the two former books to which I shall revert in a subsequent paper. The Protestants at the Reformation discarded the Old Christian Bible altogether, which had the sanction of antiquity and prestige and authority, and accepted Jerome's fantastic test of authenticity and his Canon without question, and they placed Esdras A in the Apocrypha.

As we have seen, every primitive authority, both the MSS. and the opinions of the Fathers, is against such a view, but we can go a great deal further back than this, namely, to the time of Josephus. The testimony of Josephus to the value and importance of Esdras A, is in fact supreme and conclusive. Let us remember who Josephus was, and what was his purpose in writing his polemical works. He was a Temple priest and a Pharisee, disliked by his own people because of his subservience to the Romans, and therefore necessarily most careful in regard to the books and authorities he used, for his Jewish contemporaries would have been only too glad to find him tripping. He had every motive to appeal to the oldest and most authoritative text that he could command.

Now it is a very remarkable and well-known fact that Josephus nowhere uses the canonical Ezra, but in every case quotes from a text like Esdras A and follows the order of its narrative. Here I will not revert to my own statements on the subject in former years, but will extract a paragraph from an article by Mr. Thackeray on

Esdras in Hasting's *New Bible Dictionary*, the latest pronouncement I can find on the subject. He says that "Josephus uses Esdras A in his description of the Return (Ant., X, i-v), in his account of Josiah (Ant., X, iv, 5 ff). He agrees with it in shifting the first opposition to the work and the letter to the Persian king, from its place in the canonical Ezra (altering Artaxerxes to Cambyses); he introduces the story of the three pages; with Esdras A he passes directly from the end of Ezra to Neh. 8, and he borrows a good deal of the language of our book." This states tersely what I had argued for years ago, and I completely agree with it.

The fact that a text like Esdras A was the text used by Josephus and not the canonical Ezra, ought in itself long ago to have given its proper *status*. It takes back this translation beyond the time when Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus were at work upon their translations, the only early translations from the Masoretic text that we know anything of, and to a time therefore before the Greek canonical Ezra first appeared, to a time in fact when the Masoretic text had, so far as we can discover, not been compiled and arranged, for that is now generally attributed to the School of Jamnia under the influence of Rabbi Akiba.

It is plain therefore if we follow inductive methods, that the Greek text of Esdras A is older than the Greek text of the canonical Ezra. Mr. Thackeray in accepting my conclusions on this particular issue* says, "The existing evidence makes it probable that this view is so far correct, that Esdras A represents the first attempt to present the story of "the Return" in a Greek dress * * * Subsequently a complete (!!!) and more accurate (!!!) rendering of the Hebrew was required, which was supplied by what is now called the LXX version of Ch., Ez., Neh." (*op. cit.*, 760). With the general conclusion here stated I am of course in complete agreement, but what Mr. Thackeray means by continually calling the canonical Ezra, whose text he himself describe as a servile copy of the Masoretic text, "the LXX text," and by speaking of it as "what is now called the LXX version," I do not know. I do not know of anybody who has seriously examined the problem who would call it a LXX text, or who doubts that the canonical Ezra is anything else than a very close Greek version of the Masoretic text, and has nothing to do with the Septuagint at all.

* See also Swete's introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, 1900, page 267, and the article "Ezra," Greek version, in Cheyne's Bible Dictionary.

Let us however proceed. Mr. Thackeray having reached the conclusion above quoted, turns aside from his own better judgment and pursues one of the many fantastic ideas of Ewald, whom he quotes habitually, as if his authority had not become as obsolete in these discussions as last summer's sunshine. That master of paradoxes admitted that Esdras A is based on a translation distinct and separate and older than that of the canonical Ezra, but with his perverse anxiety to evolve an intricate and ingenious conclusion, rather than a plain and obvious one, he postulated a translation into Greek of the book of Chronicles, including Ezra, different from the "Septuagint and no doubt much older;" a translation which is supposed to have been entirely lost, and of whose existence we have not a tittle of evidence except the necessities of Ewald's own *a priori* hypothesis. This quite transcendental view is gravely accepted as an almost inspired dogma, and it is propounded to a great mass of unwary and unlearned readers, in a work of such wide authority as Hasting's Bible Dictionary, as a genuine result of modern science. It really makes one despair of ridding Theology of transcendental reasoning, when one sees pontifical methods of logic like this substituted for induction. Surely when we have reached the point we have done, there is no other conclusion possible than that Esdras A is in fact the Septuagint text of the canonical book of Ezra. When I wrote my communications in the *Academy* on this question, in which I had come quite independently to this conclusion, I was under the impression that it had not occurred to anyone else. I afterwards found that I had in fact been in a measure forestalled by Pohlmann in his Memoir, "Ueber das Ansehen des Apokryphischen dritten Buchs Esras" (Tubingen, 1859), with all of which I do not agree, but which seems to me a very good piece of literary discussion. I most heartily agree with his sentence in regard to Esdras A, "War es die erste Uebersetzung von diesen Theile der heilige Schrift, welche als sölche in die Sammlung der LXX aufgenommen wurde" (*op. cit.*). The conclusion thus reached on *a priori* grounds, and by the exhausting of every other possible solution, is confirmed and supported by all the facts known to me.

First and foremost is the authority of Josephus himself. So far as we can test him, Josephus in his controversial writings always uses the Septuagint, and this probably for the very good reason that his opponents could thus immediately verify his references.

As I have said, in dealing with the period covered by the book of Ezra, he always follows a text like Esdras A and not the canonical Ezra. He does not merely adopt its matter, however, from some common original, but, as Pohlmann has shown by several examples, he copies its language, adopts its phrases, follows it in its expansions and contractions of the narrative, etc. He uses its orthography in his proper names and follows its chronology, and where the two texts differ, he is never found siding with the canonical Ezra against it (*vide op. cit.*, p. 259). There cannot be a reasonable doubt that the authority Josephus followed was our Esdras A in the form we have it.

If this be so, and if Josephus habitually used the Septuagint as the authority for the rest of his work, why should he have abandoned it in the case of this part of his narrative? Why should he have deserted the Septuagint and gone away to some other version or compilation of which we know nothing, and which has been invented by a German critic to meet the theological and other prejudices of the writer, and been adopted, as far as I can see, largely because it is a German suggestion, by Mr. Thackeray? To my mind the fact that Josephus, who continually uses the Septuagint version, quotes Esdras A and that Greek text alone for its period, is a conclusive proof that Esdras A was in fact the Septuagint version of the book and nothing else; but the evidence of Josephus can be clenched by perhaps an even more important and positive proof which I published years ago, but which Mr. Thackeray does not notice in his article, an article in which he does me the favour of referring to me at some length, and also to adopt my main contention in this behalf.

I will quote the passage I formerly wrote, from a memoir I published in the *Transactions* of the London meeting of the Oriental Congress: "There are strong reasons for believing that in Origen's Hexaplar transcript of the Septuagint, Esdras A took the place of the canonical Ezra. Dr. Gwynne has pointed out to me that in the Syriac catena contained in MS. Add. 12168 B.M., which is professedly based upon the Syriac Hexaplar of Paul of Tella, which was again taken from Origen's Hexaplar, Esdras A takes the place of the canonical Ezra." The MS. in question is one of the Nitrian collection, and was written in the VIIIth century, and the fact that Paul of Telba included Esdras A in his version is, as Dr. Lupton, says, a strong presumption that it was the Septuagint version of the

book. The extracts in question are expressly said to be taken from the version of the LXX.

Origen, who is the best authority we can find on such a point, and whose evidence would be immediately accepted as conclusive upon it but for the wilderness of barren hypotheses which have obscured this question, accepted Esdras A as the true Septuagint text of the canonical Ezra. If we do not accept his testimony on such a point, whither are we to turn? Jerome himself, in his preface to Kings, Chronicles, etc., seems, as the same commentator says, to allow that Esdras A was in fact in the Septuagint. Dr. Lupton further points out that, to Esdras A in Walton's Polyglot there is at the beginning a Syriac note stating it was made "ex traditione LXX," and it is in keeping with this that Origen quotes from Esdras A, iv, 59, in his Hom. IX in Josuam.

This exhausts the external evidence, but there still remains the internal.

The fact that the canonical Daniel as it occurs in nearly every Greek MS. and in the Vulgate is not the Septuagint version, but that of Theodotion, is specially attested by Jerome. It is well known, however, that the Septuagint Daniel has survived to our day and is preserved in the so-called MS. Chisianus. Dr. Gwynne many years ago favoured me with his very valuable opinion, that the diction and phrases of the Greek in Esdras A are so close and in places so identical with those in the Chisian Daniel, that he was convinced the two were translated by the same person. In his article on Theodotion in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, he has collected a number of examples of what he means, which are very striking. If, therefore, as is not disputed, the Chisian Daniel is the Septuagint version of that book, then surely it follows from these facts that the much despised Esdras A is also the Septuagint version of Ezra. I cannot understand Mr. Thackeray's gyratory mental attitude on this question.

Notwithstanding his own previous adhesion to Ewald's phantom version, he says, "In view of other parallels between the books (*i.e.*, the Septuagint Daniel and Esdras A), another explanation is more probable, that *the translations are the work of one and the same hand*"—the italics are Mr. Thackeray's. Again, he says, "in one place the same Aramaic phrase, 'And his house shall be made a dung hill,' is mistranslated or paraphrased in the same way" (see Esdras A, 6, 31, and Daniel, ii, 5). Exactly so, but how is this to

be equated with his previous statements? It can surely only be equated with the conclusion that both the Chisian Daniel and Esdras A are the Septuagint versions of the two books, which is further supported by the fact that the language of Esdras A is also precisely that of the Septuagint Esther, which Mr. Thackeray in fact allows.

Mr. Thackeray has only one reason apparently for throwing over the whole *catena* of proofs that Esdras A is the Septuagint version, in favour of Ewald's daring invention, namely, that in regard to certain passages Esdras A and the canonical Ezra often agree literally in the Greek, and even in rare and unfamiliar words, and they also agree sometimes in their deviations from the Hebrew text. These coincidences and divergences are supposed to point to Esdras A having followed the canonical Ezra or some earlier common source. Mr. Thackeray has himself pointed out the ineffectiveness of this argument in certain cases; but suppose we grant it all, it seems to me to prove the very reverse of what Ewald contends for. If the canonical Ezra be a translation of the Masoretic text and nothing more, it must have been made by Aquila, Theodotion, or Symmachus, probably by Theodotion. If Esdras A is the true Septuagint text, it must have been older than any of them. Hence the coincidences and divergences instead of pointing to the translator of Esdras A having followed the translator of the canonical Ezra, or a common source, it rather points to Theodotion having, naturally and necessarily, had before him the other Greek translations of the Bible then available when making his own, and among these most certainly would be the venerable document we call the Septuagint. Is it not perfectly certain that in such a case he would sometimes follow the phraseology of the latter? Test it by any similar case elsewhere, and only one answer is possible. But this explanation is too simple for some great minds. They must have a far-fetched explanation, and if there is no evidence to support it, they gaily invent it, as Ewald invented his "Mirage text," "a Greek translation older and independent of the Septuagint," a mere creation of dream-land.

I think I have shown, as clearly as anything can be shown, that the Septuagint version of the canonical Ezra is the book of Esdras A, and I hope sincerely the editors of the Great Cambridge Edition of the Septuagint will discard from their edition a book like the canonical Ezra, which has no right to be there any more than

Theodotion's version of Daniel ought to be there; and will give us instead, what we much need, namely, a collation of the MS^S. and a scientific text of Esdras A, for which we have ample materials. Fortunately Jerome's mean opinion of the book led to its being preserved in the Vulgate in a form largely untouched and uncontaminated by his most unfortunate editorial hand, and largely free therefore from his emendations and his eclectic changes, and we probably have in the Latin Esdras A a fairly clean translation from the primitive Septuagint.

We may hope at the same time that the division of Chronicles 1 and 2 and Ezra into three fragments will disappear also, and that we shall have the whole of them in one continuous book as they were originally written, a fact for which Esdras A is an excellent witness, for it passes straight on over the present gap between Chronicles and Ezra.

And lastly, we may hope that the ridiculous reduplicated verses will disappear also. They are an excellent witness to the mechanical machinery employed by the Masorets to preserve their text from corruption, but they ought to have no place in the Christian Bible, where they are a mere blemish and make the enemy blaspheme.

In regard to the contents of Esdras A and of their value as contrasted with those of the canonical Ezra, I must reserve my remarks for another occasion, and will only say now, that a text which was accepted as his authority by so great a Jewish scholar as Josephus, and which was accepted as authentic by the translators of the Septuagint and by almost every primitive father, will need a great deal more effective answering than a few very positive and very ill-placed *obiter dicta* from even so good a scholar as Mr. Thackeray.



A MYTHOLOGICAL TEXT FROM MEMPHIS.

BY F. W. READ AND A. C. BRYANT, B.A.

INTRODUCTION.

The very valuable and interesting mythological text which is the subject of this paper, is engraved on a slab of black basalt now in the British Museum (Southern Egyptian Gallery), where it is numbered 135.* The slab measures $54\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $36\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and is stated to have been presented to the Museum by Earl Spencer in 1805. The authors have not been able to trace its previous history. The inscription itself states that it was set up in the temple of Ptehu at Memphis, and it may thus be regarded as one of the very few relics of ancient Egypt from an important centre of religious thought.

Notwithstanding the interest attaching to it on this and other grounds, it has hitherto hardly received the attention which its importance deserves. A copy was published by Sharpe in *Egyptian Inscriptions* (1st Series, 36-38). This, however, is very inaccurate and defective in the extreme, and a translation which he gives elsewhere of a small portion of the text is even more unfortunate (*Egyptian Mythology*, 14). Sir Peter Renouf translates portions of the text which are given almost perfectly by Sharpe. (*Hibbert Lectures* (1879) 150, for part of line 5, and 220 for parts of lines 6-9, 11, and 12.) A few sentences may also be found in Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique*, V, 3, 271; VI, 48; *Dictionnaire Géographique*, 118, 754; and De Rougé, *Mélanges Archéologiques*, I, 20, 21.

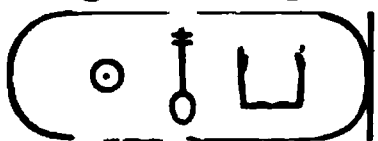
An interlinear Latin translation (with notes) was made by Goodwin and published by Chabas in the *Mélanges Egyptologiques* (3rd Series, I, 247); but it is hardly up to his usual level. It suffers besides from the radical defect of being wholly based on Sharpe's misleading copy. Many of the emendations are, it is true, distinguished by great critical acumen, and accurately restore the original text, but others are not so happy; and in many cases he has failed to notice that the text on which he was working was corrupt.



It is, moreover, unfortunate that copies of the volume in which the translation is published are very scarce, so much so that the Library of the British Museum does not possess one, although the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities does.*


The copy of the text here given is the result of most careful and repeated examinations of the slab, which, however, does not stand in a good light, and is too cumbersome and firmly fixed to be easily removed. A squeeze would have been worse than useless. This means of reproduction was employed by Sharpe, with the result that mere flaws and breakages in the stone appear in his copy as hieroglyphic characters. It is quite possible that in a very few—and only a very few—cases a doubt as to our reading may be felt by other observers, and it is also possible that they may be able to add to what we have deciphered. To facilitate this, we have thought it best to insert every character that we could find, which may, besides, have the advantage of enabling scholars elsewhere to identify fragments of other copies which may have been overlooked. We have also numbered the lines continuously from right to left, which will be found more convenient for reference than Sharpe's clumsy arrangement. In preparing our translation we have made full use of the work of our predecessors, and must particularly acknowledge our indebtedness to Goodwin. We have, however, felt frequently compelled to dissent from his rendering even in passages which are correctly given by Sharpe. For comparison we have added a copy of Goodwin's translation, in which the words based on errors in Sharpe are indicated by italics. The curious mixture of Latin and English is accounted for by the fact that some part of the translation is to be found in his remarks on the text, and these are in English.


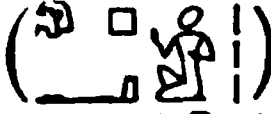

The actual inscription in the possession of the British Museum dates, as is stated in the first horizontal line, from the reign of a king whose personal name is erased, but whose throne name was



. Although several kings of this name are known to the monuments, there is only one of them whose titles correspond fully with those on the slab, and this is, of course, Šabaka, of the

* It may be of interest to mention that, when we first contemplated the publication of the text, Sir Peter Renouf wrote to us: "I am extremely glad that you have thought of giving a correct text and a new translation of the tablet in question I once intended to do this work myself, but gave up the intention to do so in consequence of other occupation."

25th Dynasty, *circa* 700 B.C.* In fact, the outline of part of the  is still visible in the left hand cartouche.

The original text of the inscription, however, belongs to a very much earlier period than that of Šabaka, having been merely copied afresh () by his orders from a tablet set up by his predecessors () which in the course of time had become "worm-eaten" ().† An inspection of the slab confirms this statement, for the text is frequently interrupted by blank spaces, where there has evidently never been any writing at all; in one case a whole line is left entirely blank. This can only be explained by supposing that the older inscription was so badly preserved that in some places it quite baffled the ingenuity of the copyist. So far as he could understand it, however, he performed his task with great fidelity and accuracy, and there can be little doubt that we have the actual words, for the most part in the actual spelling of the ancient text. Sometimes the words and signs are closely crowded together; at other times we find them spread widely apart.‡ The reason for this is, without doubt, that the scribe wished to make each column in his copy correspond with a column in the original; but when he happened to have miscalculated the spacing of the words in any column, instead of inserting or omitting phonetic complements or determinatives, which would have been the most natural way of restoring the balance, he preferred to cramp his writing or to space it out excessively as the case might be, so that every character of the original should be reproduced without alteration. The misplacing of columns 5 and 6 (see note 14) conclusively proves that the copy was made line for line. That the scribe neglected to make the temptingly obvious restoration indicated in our remarks on line 51 (see p. 169), also goes to show the scrupulous accuracy with which he executed his copy.



If then we can rely on the inscription set up by order of Šabaka accurately reproducing the original text, it may not be impossible to determine roughly by internal evidence when that older text was

* See E. Brugsch and Bouriant, *Le Livre des Rois*, 113; Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, XLVII.









† See second horizontal line.



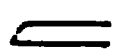

‡ It has not been thought necessary to reproduce in our copy these purely mechanical defects.


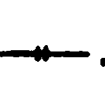

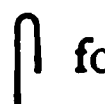


first written. The following appear to be the most important points:—

1. The syntax is good; thus, for instance, the relative prepositions  and  are not infrequently used, and always with grammatical correctness. The feminine and plural forms of adjectives are also used in agreement with their substantives. It is true that the crude forms of both prepositions and adjectives are sometimes found where an inflected form would be appropriate. But this does not affect the grammatical accuracy of the text; the inflected forms alone were specialised, the crude forms were universal.

2. The text is characterised by an extraordinary absence of determinatives, so that it is extremely difficult to give a satisfactory translation of some passages.










3. The phonetic value of the sign  =  instead of . This spelling is constantly found in the Pyramid Texts. The very curious form    *nostrils** (line 9) may also be paralleled in the Pyramid Texts, e.g., U. 219, T. 33, and P. 566.† The use of  in words which in later times are written with  is very common in these inscriptions.



4. The old forms  and  are invariably used in place of the later  and . The hawk of Heru also invariably appears as in the Pyramid Texts, without the vertical stroke over the back, which is regularly used later.

5. Dr. Fritz Hommel, in the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, XXX, 9, has called attention to the fact that the Pyramid Texts make a distinction between  and . In every case in which an independent word quoted by him occurs in our text this distinction is rigorously observed, irrespective of symmetry in writing. Possibly the erroneous   for  , in line 4, may be due to


* Incorrectly given by Goodwin as   .


† The Pyramid Texts are referred to throughout in accordance with the system introduced by Schack-Schackembourg in his *Index zu den Pyramidentexten*. U = Unās; T = Tetā; P = Pepi I; M = Merenrā; N = Pepi II (Neferkarā).

a confusion with  "in it." In the cases of the causative prefix  and the pronominal suffixes  and  the scribe is not quite so accurate. The proportion is about four true forms to one false. Even if all the forms are correctly copied from the original inscription, these numbers indicate a high degree of antiquity; but it is not improbable, in view of the few cases in which  is used, and the fact that the customary forms of the suffixes would be more vividly present to the mind of the scribe than those of words generally, that he did not follow his copy. It would appear that even in Pyramid times the confusion between  and  was already beginning, as we find, e.g., that T. 75 has , where U. 196, M. 229, and N. 607 have .

6. Our text agrees with the Pyramids in not giving the plural suffixes the determinative of plurality. This would seem to indicate considerable antiquity, as some fairly old texts that have retained  write .

On a review of the whole case, it appears that our text certainly dates from the time of the Old Kingdom, and perhaps from the 5th Dynasty.

It would probably be difficult to find another inscription which has been mutilated at so many different times and from such different motives. The earliest erasure was doubtless that of the name of Šabaka. This would presumably be effected by one of the rulers of Memphis under the suzerainty of Assyria. Next came the obliteration of the name of Suti. It has been suggested by Tiele that the hatred of this god reached its height under Persian influence. However this may be, our text makes it certain that his name was not erased till a comparatively late period of Egyptian history. At the beginning of line 55, the person who hacked out the figure of Suti has also ingeniously altered the text by providing the sign 

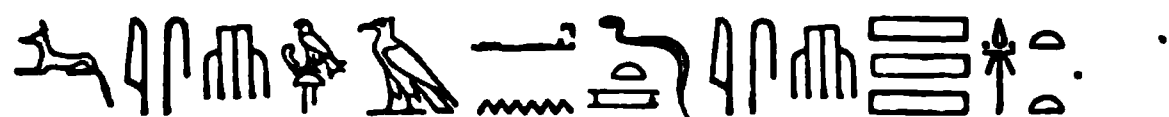
with a beak, and so making it appear somewhat like . This literally mechanical method of editing no doubt satisfied the theological prejudices of the editor; it is unfortunate, however, that it makes nonsense of the legend to which it was applied. The most extensive damage of all has been done in much more modern times,

though it is impossible to say exactly when. The slab has evidently been used as a lower mill-stone. For this purpose, a rectangular piece has been cut out of the centre, from which deep grooves radiate in all directions. The preservation of the text at the top and sides of the slab is due solely to the fact that the upper millstone was not large enough to reach those parts. As far as it extended everything has been obliterated, except a few characters here and there.

The first vertical line of the text commences abruptly with the statement that "he came as a bringer of protection," and this led Goodwin to infer that some account of the life of Āusāri must have preceded. We think, however, that the words, "Thus Āusāri came," &c., are intended as a gloss on the abrupt opening sentence; and in this view our first vertical line may well represent the commencement of the original text. The fact that the inscription is bounded on the right by an unbroken line, while it is not so on the left, would also seem to indicate that Śābaka's scribe regarded the text as perfect on the one side and not on the other.

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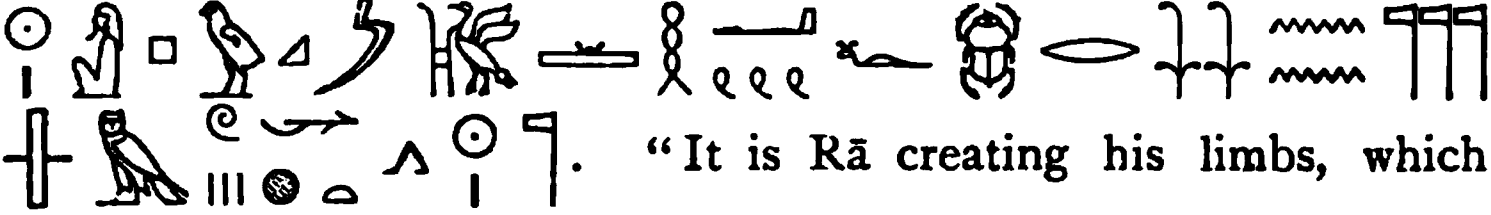
It seems clear that in lines 1-4 we have a mythological account of the daily journey across the sky of the sun personified as *Āusāri*. He first comes "from the Fortress of the Chief," which Goodwin identified with great probability with the Fortress of *Ānt'*. We do not think that this and the other localities mentioned are to be looked for in Egypt. The Fortress of *Ānt'* would appear to be the place from which the sun rises. In U. 298, 299 (see also T. 146, 147; M. 199; and N. 542, 543) we read:



“It is Ānpu who is chief of the Residents in the West ; it is Ānt’ who is chief of the Nomes of the East.” Ānpu, the well known god of the West, or region of sunset, is thus contrasted with Ānt’, the god of the East, or region of sunrise. It is true that “the building of the Fortress of the Chief” is mentioned in line 40, but the place whence the sun rises being once conceived as a Fortress, it would of course have to be built. Ausāri then crosses over the sky and reaches the earth again and enters “the sanctuaries of the lords of eternity.” We are distinctly told that he passes “on the roads of Rā” (the sun-god), so that the meaning seems to be beyond doubt.

associate gods are introduced in a somewhat strange way. After an account of the making of "the dexterity of the hands and the walking of the feet," we are told that "the associate gods created the sight of the eyes, the hearing of the ears, and the breathing of the nostrils." We do not know why these functions were classified in this particular way, but as they all have their seat in the head, there seems to have been an attempt at logical arrangement on the part of the writer.

The mythological doctrine contained in the sentence: "His associate gods in his presence are the teeth and lips, the joints and hands of Tmu, for these became the associate gods," is identical with that in the 17th chapter of the *Book of the Dead*:

 "It is Rā creating his limbs, which became those gods who are with Rā" (L. T. 17, 4).*

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The left hand portion of the slab reproduces at least three (and probably more) independent texts. The few phrases which have escaped destruction at the commencement of this part of the inscription, suggest a somewhat later recension of the text on the extreme right of the slab. Too little remains to enable the arrangement to be made out, but it is certain that there could have been no agreement with the latter beyond the point at which the account of the submersion of Ausāri ends at the top of line 4. From this it may be argued that what follows in line 4 is a distinct text, though we are not prepared to commit ourselves to this view.

So far the matter is comparatively simple; we now arrive at a more difficult portion of the inscription. Here, as we think, are two originally independent texts, artificially intertwined to produce a deceptive appearance of unity. We need not be surprised at finding religious texts treated in this way. Writings relating to the same subject tend to be brought together, no matter how gross the contradiction between them, as witness the various sections of Chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*,† and (a still closer parallel) the Elohist and Jehovistic documents of the Hexateuch. Our texts refer to the rule of the gods on earth, and their possession of the two crowns of South and North, and the corresponding titles of

* See Renouf, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 43, 44.

† Renouf, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 220-1.

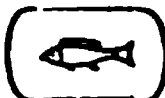
SETEN and NÂT. According to the longer of the two texts, Suti was SETEN and Heru was NÂT ; according to the other, Heru was SETEN NÂT, as he is also in line 1 of our inscription. These two theories are to be traced constantly in the Egyptian records. The longer, and without doubt the older, account occupies parts of lines 47, 48, 51, and 52, and the whole of lines 53-56. According to this very interesting text, the rival claims of Heru and Suti were settled by a treaty which was brought about by the intervention of Sebu, who also guaranteed its execution. Sebu may be supposed to have acted either as head of the family or as earth-god ; we think the latter. In the Pyramid Texts he is emphatically the earth (see notes 25 and 27) ; and it is significant that while the later text lays stress on his relationship to Heru, nothing of the kind appears here. Sebu summons Heru and Suti to appear before him ; they take up their positions on two adjacent hillocks and solemnly fix their boundaries, both using the same formula. Sebu then appoints Suti to be SETEN (king of the South) and Heru to be NÂT (king of the North) ; and the account is fitly concluded by the presentation of offerings to Sebu by the great company of the gods. A reference to the translation will show that we have here a continuous and consistent story.


The second and later account is wedged in between two fragments of the first, occupying parts of lines 52-49, which are to be read from left to right, and not *vice versâ*, like the rest of the inscription. Here we are told how Sebu gave his inheritance to Heru, "who is the son of his son, the first-born of his body." He becomes the ruler of the earth, and the double crown (URIT-HEKAIU, the great one of magical virtues) flourishes upon his head. Here, again, is a rational and consistent story, but one quite incompatible with that into which it has been interpolated.

The question arises whether the scribe produced this strange combination ignorantly or intentionally, and we are forced to the conclusion that he did so intentionally. The fact that one story is written in a different direction from the other is in itself suspicious, for, while it is well known that there *were* scribes who could not distinguish the end of a text from the beginning, the general character of the work shows that *this* scribe was not of that class. If he knew the true direction of one story, he must have known equally well that of the other. A little consideration will show us his mode of working. On looking at the upper parts of lines 51-53, we see that

they are arranged in the form of a table—a favourite device with Egyptian scribes of all periods. In column 51 Sebu addresses Heru and Suti; in the next column he addresses Heru alone; and in the next Suti alone. After each speech there is a blank, and then two compartments are formed by horizontal lines drawn across the columns. In line 51 the upper compartment is blank, but was without doubt intended to contain the figures of Heru and Suti; the lower compartment contains the corresponding emblems of North and South. In the next column the upper compartment contains the figure of Heru and the lower the emblem of the North; and in the last column the corresponding positions are filled by Suti and the emblem of the South. We think it is clear that in the original text the tabular arrangement did not extend below the third horizontal line, as the narrative runs on logically and naturally after the lower compartment in line 53. But here the redactor saw his opportunity. Why not insert in the column devoted to Heru a text to the glory of that god? This being decided on, the interpolated text must run to the right, since there was no room for it on the left, and by consequence the part of the first narrative that preceded the speeches of Sebu must be separated from them by the space necessary to contain the interpolated text. That these three lines were not originally arranged in a tabular form in their lower parts is still evident, notwithstanding the efforts of the scribe. Had they been so, lines 51 and 53, as well as line 52, would have contained something appropriate to the gods mentioned in them; but it is only in the latter line—just at the very point where, for other reasons, we have fixed the commencement of the interpolation—that there is any special relation between the god addressed in the upper part of the line and the matter in the lower part.


There still remain small portions of the text to which it is difficult to assign definite positions. The upper portions of lines 45–50 are of but little importance, and we have not attempted to translate them; they show marked affinities with the interpolated “Heru” story below, but make no connected sense. Line 59 has been attached to the first story, and line 60 to the second, as their language seems to connect them respectively with these two texts, but no certain opinion can be formed regarding such mere fragments as these. Line 57 we have placed at the end of the translation; it appears to belong to quite a different text from the other matter in this part of the slab.

The nome  Ān, in which the boundary of the two earths is said to be, was the 22nd (supplementary) nome of Lower Egypt, situate on the east bank of the Nile, opposite the Memphite nome (Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, 117-120). Here was the "mountain in the midst of the earth" on which the treaty was made. The boundary thus defined is practically the same as that symbolically indicated in line 48, where we are told that "the two pillars of the gateway of the House of Pteḥu (*i.e.*, Memphis) are Ḥeru and Suti."

The town  ⊗ Sesesu, in which Suti is said to have been born must have been in the south of Egypt, as Suti's territory extends from it to Ān, just as Ḥeru's territory extends from the sea in the north, where his father was drowned, to Ān. Brugsch expresses the opinion that it was in the Fayum (*Dict. Géog.*, 752-754, and 717, 718). The town is, however, found in parallelism with the land of the South (Pleyte, *Lettre à M. T. Devéria*, 11, 12).

The Papyrus Sallier IV contains a different and much later account of the agreement between Ḥeru and Suti. This very interesting document, which has been translated by Chabas, is a calendar showing the lucky and unlucky days, with notes of the mythological events believed to have occurred on each day. Under the date 27th Athyr we are told that the Kamit (*i.e.*, the black or cultivated land) was given to Ḥeru, and the Tešerit (*i.e.*, the red land or desert) was given to Suti. Then on the 29th Athyr the White Crown is given to Ḥeru, and the Red Crown to Suti; and on the 24th Choiak T'eḥuti transmits his august Red Crown to Ḥeru.* This extraordinary jumble is consistent neither with our text, nor with itself, nor with ordinary Egyptian ideas. That the kingdoms of the two gods should be the Black and the Red Lands is quite alien from the usual ideas of the Egyptians in regard to sovereignty. No doubt Egyptian kings are occasionally said to rule over these two territories, but this has nothing whatever to do with the dualism which runs throughout royal and divine titles. In the Sallier Papyrus, however, it is distinctly made to take the place of the usual division into South and North; and, to add to the confusion, Ḥeru gets the White or Southern and Suti the Red

* *Papyrus Sallier IV* (*Select Papyri*, Part I, Plates CXLIV-CLXVIII), 9, 5, 6; 9, 8; 12, 4. Chabas, *Le Calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes*, 52, 53, 62.

or Northern Crown, which is the exact opposite of the regular arrangement. Then the transmission of the Red Crown to Heru is in flat contradiction to the previous statement, though in accord with our text, and with the view of Heru as god of the North, which appears to have been generally accepted in Egypt. It is known that the conflict between Heru and Suti was sometimes regarded as symbolising the conflict which continually goes on in Egypt between the cultivated land and the desert, and presumably the division indicated by the Sallier Papyrus was suggested by this view. The Red Crown was no doubt considered appropriate to the Red Land. The word , "red," is used as the name of both, as it is also for that of red objects generally.

There are a number of common Egyptian expressions which occur here in an unusual form. In such pairs as "SETEN NÂT," "Vulture and Uræus," "Heru and Suti," and "South and North," the words usually appear in a fixed order, so that the word relating to the South precedes that relating to the North, with the single exception of "Heru and Suti." In this last case Heru, the god of the North, precedes Suti, the god of the South. In our text we can see the influence which these pairs have on each other when they occur together. In lines 51-53 Heru and Suti retain their usual relative positions, and South and North are inverted to correspond. In line 55 Heru is deprived of his precedence in order that SETEN NÂT may appear in their usual order. If lines 51-53 stood alone, the arrangement might not unreasonably be explained by supposing that the gods were mentioned first in their usual order, and that what followed was brought into agreement. But in the face of line 55 this explanation cannot stand. There the scribe could have placed Heru first without difficulty; that he did not do so must be attributed to his determination not to disturb the traditional order of SETEN NÂT. These facts seem to point to SETEN NÂT and similar pairs having grown up independently of Heru and Suti, and been brought into connection with them later. Had not Heru and Suti been firmly established as a divine pair, in which Heru had precedence, it is certain that they would have had to conform to the otherwise universal arrangement. As it is, they never do so except to avoid disturbing the positions of the still more sacred SETEN NÂT.

Perhaps we should see here an instance of the process by which, according to the speculations of Professor Petrie, different gods were

introduced into Egypt by different races, though it does not seem possible to accept the details of the process indicated by him. According to the view prevalent in Egypt, the south was regarded as being in front, the north behind, the west on the right hand, and the east on the left. This corresponds to the position of a people entering Egypt from the north, and to such a people it seems reasonable to ascribe pairs of the SETEN NÂT class. We should then attribute Heru and Suti to a people entering Egypt from the south, which would naturally regard the north as being in front. On the puzzling question of "the Set and Horus discordance," our text seems to negative Professor Petrie's theory. His view is that Ausari and Suti were in conflict before Ausit and Heru were associated with Ausari. When Ausit was married to Ausari it became the duty of her son Heru to fight Suti (*Religion and Conscience*, 57). Now, our text mentions the death of Ausari and his relationship to Heru, side by side with the conflict between Heru and Suti, and yet without the slightest suggestion that Suti was responsible for the death, or that Heru was at enmity with him on that account. Only one conclusion seems possible. The Osirian myth and that of the conflict between Heru and Suti must have existed separately at first, and been fused later by fixing upon Suti the murder of Ausari.

TRANSLATION.

Preface.

1. Live Heru, the Traverser of the two earths, (1) the Vulture and the Uræus, (2) the Traverser of the two earths, the conquering Heru, the Traverser of the two earths, the king of the South and North, Neferkarā, son of the Sun, (Śabaka), beloved of Ptehu of the South of the [lit. his] Wall, living like the Sun for ever.

Live Heru, the Traverser of the two earths, the Vulture and the Uræus, the Traverser of the two earths, the conquering Heru, the Traverser of the two earths, the king of the South and North, Neferkarā, son of the Sun, (Śabaka), beloved of Sekru of the South of the [lit. his] Wall, living like the Sun for ever.

2. His Majesty engraved these writings afresh in the temple of his father Ptehu of the South of the [lit. his] Wall, because his Majesty found that which (3) his predecessors had made, and which (3) the worms had eaten. It was unknown from beginning to end

. afresh satisfactorily as at first [?], for the sake of establishing his name by setting up a [lit. his] votive tablet in the temple of *his* father Pteḥu of the South of the [lit. his] Wall throughout eternity. This (3) did the son of the Sun, (Šabaka), for *his* father Pteḥu-Tatenen—he, the giver of life for ever, made *it*.

Text.

1. He came as a bringer of protection, (4) he fraternised with the gods; Tatenen and Pteḥu the lord of years. Thus (5) Āusāri came from the earth, from the Fortress of the Chief, from the northern part of the earth. He brought then his son Ḥeru, manifested as SETEN and NĀT in the hand (6) of his father Āusāri, with the gods who were before him *and the gods* who were behind him.

2. They crossed over, each in proper time, (7) and thus they brought him to the earth; he entered into the secret pylons, (8) into the sanctuaries of the lords of eternity, in the track of The-Riser-from-the-horizon, (9) *that is*, on the roads of Rā, into the great resting-place

3. of the activity of Āusāri. (10) He plunged in the [lit. his] waters. Āusit and Nebithāit were looking on; they beheld him, they worked [?] upon him *when* Ḥeru gave orders to Āusit and Nebithāit in T'etū. They laid hold on Āusāri, they conducted his submersion

4. and they succeeded in it. (11) Thereupon all the gods and their doubles (12) made offerings to him. (13).
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. (14)

6. The gods brought (15) an offering of all good things. Now T'etūti the wise [he] is more powerful than the *other* gods. Now Pteḥu was satisfied after his making of all things, all the divine names. Then he formed the gods, he made the towns, he designed the nomes, he placed the gods in their shrines.

5. He made their company flourish; he prepared their shrines, he set up their images, to give peace to their hearts. Thereupon the gods entered into their images, into all the wood, into all the stone, and into all the metal; all things flourished where he went. (16)

7. All the limbs moved when he uttered the word of wisdom,

which came forth from the tongue and worked a blessing upon all things. The speech caused [lit. became] the making of men and the creation of the gods for Ptehu-Tatenen-Sepu. (17.) The gods were created and all things came forth from him; both supplies and food and also

8. the will  and the power of command .

Then were made loaves out of measures of corn; (18) there were made all food and all supplies by that word; there were made love and hate. Now was ordained life for the righteous (19) and was ordained death for the unrighteous. (19) Now were made all work and all power; the dexterity of the hands, the walking of the feet;

9. and the associate gods created the sight of the eyes, the hearing of the ears, the breathing of the nostrils; they sent up that which gave pleasure to the father. There was ordained the utterance of every decision by the tongue, which repeats the deliberation of the heart. Now the creation of all the gods, *that is to say*, Tmu and his associate gods, was when proclamation was made of all the divine names in his wisdom.

10. His associate gods in his presence *are* [as] the teeth and lips, the joints and hands of Tmu, for these (20) become (the associate gods). The associate gods of Tmu *are* [as] his joints and [as] his fingers. The associate gods, moreover, (21) are *his* teeth and lips, by that decree of Mat which names all things. Šu and Tefnuit came forth through him;

11. Heru was created by him, T'ehuti was created by him, *that is*, by Ptehu. Fortitude of heart and vigour of hand were created (by him) His activity is within every body and within every mouth, of [all] the gods, of [all] mankind, of [all] quadrupeds (22) and reptiles. Activity and thought and the power of command—everything which he wills—

12. come forth from the heart and come forth from the tongue [as] an emanation of Tmu. Exceeding great is Ptehu (all the gods and) their doubles, strength in [?]

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Heading of lines 13, 14, 15, and 16. Ptehu in *his* divine forms. (23)

13. Ptehu the great one. Heart and tongue Ptehu to the nostrils of Rā every day

14. Pteḥu of the earth. (24) The mother giving birth to Tmu (and his associate gods)
15. Pteḥu of heaven. The emanation of Tmu
16. Pteḥu in the great resting-place.
39. Sebu (said to) T'eḥuti
40. to [?] the building of the Fortress of the Chief
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41. The Fortress of the Chief in [?] (the northern part of the earth)
42. Āusit and Nebithāit said to Āusāri: "Oh! *come* to us, bring thou (the heir)"
43. Ḥeru said to Āusit and Nebithāit: "Go, lay hold on (him) " they brought him to
44. the earth. (25) Āusāri plunged in the [lit. his] waters; Āusit and Nebithāit were looking on. They (conducted) his submersion.
- 45.* Āp-uat gave birth to Āusit and Nebithāit in T'etū.
- 46.† Āp-uat
- Āusāri in the house of Sekru.
- 47.‡ The union is in the house of Pteḥu, *that is*, in the house of his two earths, in which is the boundary of South and North. It is the earth
- 48.§ which became united, (26) for the two pillars of the gateway of the House of Pteḥu are Ḥeru and Suti. The united ones made peace; they fraternised completely; they made a treaty.||
51. Sebu said to Ḥeru and Suti: "There shall be an arbitration between you."
52. Sebu said to Ḥeru: "Come from the place where thy father was submerged."

* The translation commences at   (see *Intr.*).

† The translation commences at   (see *Intr.*).

‡ The translation commences at  (see *Intr.*).

§ The translation commences at  (see *Intr.*).

|| As to the arrangement of lines 49-60, see *Intr.*

53. Sebu said to Suti : " Come from the place where thou wast born." A mountain in the midst of the earth (27) joins the portion of Heru to the portion of Suti,

54. at the division of the earth. Now Heru and Suti *each* stood upon a hillock ; they made peace, *saying* : " The two earths *meet* in Ān, for it is the march of the two earths." " The two earths *meet* in Ān, for it is the march of the two earths."

55. He protected their treaty (28). He appointed Suti as SETEN in the southern earth, extending from the place where he was born (29), *that is*, from Sesesu. Now Sebu [he] appointed Heru as NĀT in the northern earth, extending from the place where his father was submerged.

56. The gods made offerings to him when he arbitrated between Heru and Suti.

59. It is the land of South and North ; these united ones are manifested as SETEN and manifested as NĀT.

52.* Now Sebu gave his inheritance to Heru, who is the son

51.† of his son, the first-born of his body.







50.‡ So Heru was chief of the land. Such was the union of this land of Mat in the great name of Tatenen of the South of the [lit. his] Wall, lord of eternity.


49.§ The double crown flourishes upon his head, for it is Heru who is manifested as SETEN NĀT, the uniter of the two earths, at the fortress in the place where the two earths are united.

60. It is Ptehu who is Mat in the great name of Tatenen (30).

57. begat him. It is Tmu who created *his* associate gods.

NOTES.

(1) *The Traverser of the two earths*,   . We are not aware that this epithet occurs elsewhere than in the titles of Šabaka, where it appears to be always written without determinative. There are two different verbs    with the respective meanings of

* The translation commences at  (see *Intr.*).

† The translation commences at  (see *Intr.*).

‡ The translation commences at  (see *Intr.*).








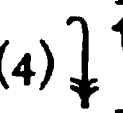



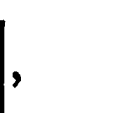

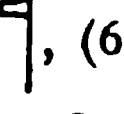


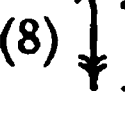

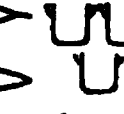
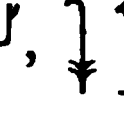







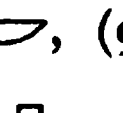
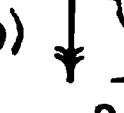

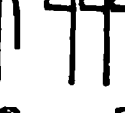


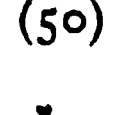


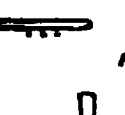

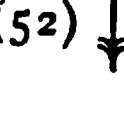


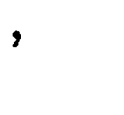


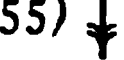







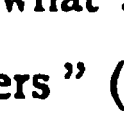

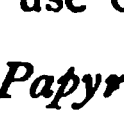
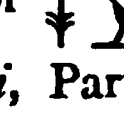
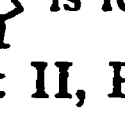
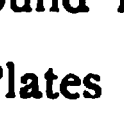
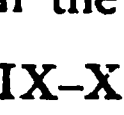
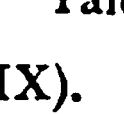
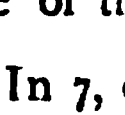

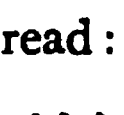

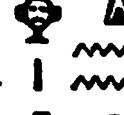


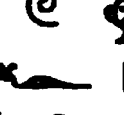


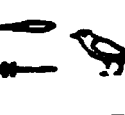

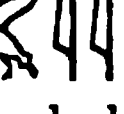

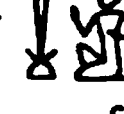
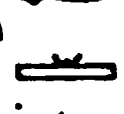
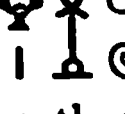
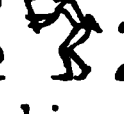
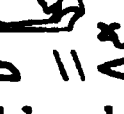
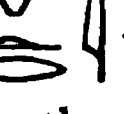


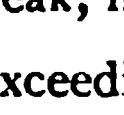
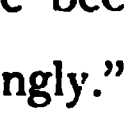
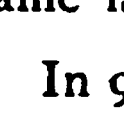
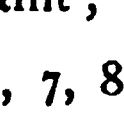
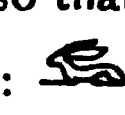
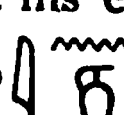


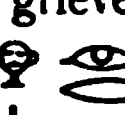
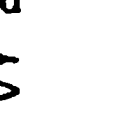




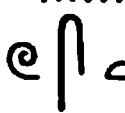


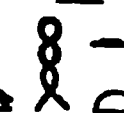
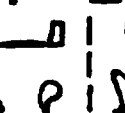


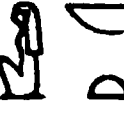





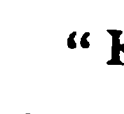


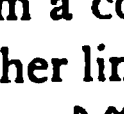
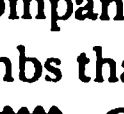
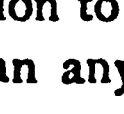
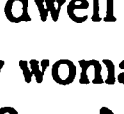
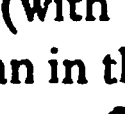
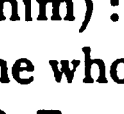
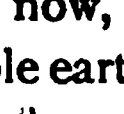
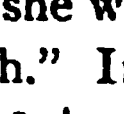
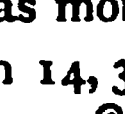
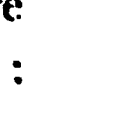
§ The translation commences at  (see *Intr.*).








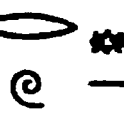





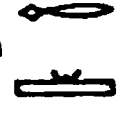


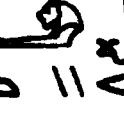

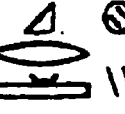

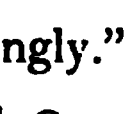
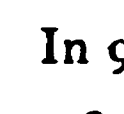
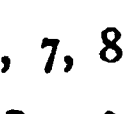
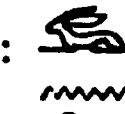




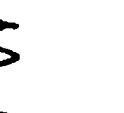
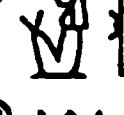
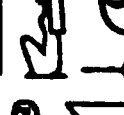
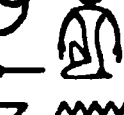

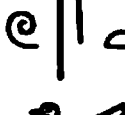
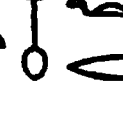

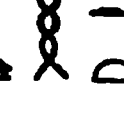
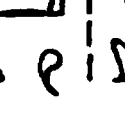

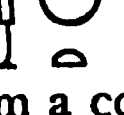




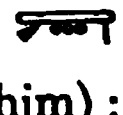

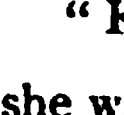
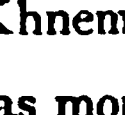
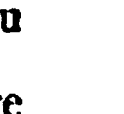



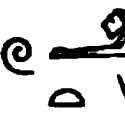
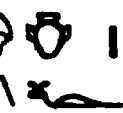

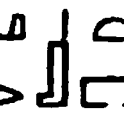
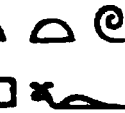

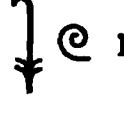
“to traverse” and “to make bright.” From the second of these are derived , *olive tree*, and , *eye*. The phrase might therefore mean either “The Traverser of the two earths,” or “The Shiner of the two earths.” This title, like those of Egyptian kings generally, is doubtless solar in its origin, and might therefore be appropriately translated in either way. But the fact that the verb , *to traverse*, is in more common use, and the similarity of the title of Ausari, , “divider of the two earths” (Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, CXLII, 5), has induced us to prefer the former.

(2) *The Vulture and the Uræus* . The bowls in this title, as well as in the parallel title , are not to be read as the word , *lord*. Multitudes of examples show that the bowl is merely an ornamental support; see, for instance, Petrie, *History of Egypt*, I, 62, and line 49 of the text. The title is generally held to indicate dominion over the South and North; but Renouf maintains that it refers to sovereignty over the East and West. (See *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XVI, 53.)






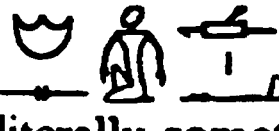
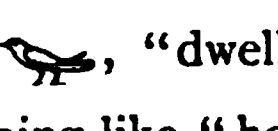



(3) *That which, and which, this*, . These three passages are instances of the use of as a demonstrative. All three sentences are constructed as follows: + predicate + + subject. The first two are connected by , the use of which as a conjunction is well known in writings of the late period.

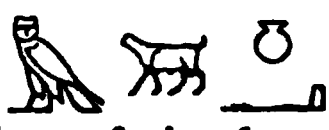
(4) *As a bringer of protection*, . The sense appears to be that Ausari manifested himself on earth as a beneficent divinity. The word , or , is of frequent occurrence in funereal inscriptions with the sense of *protection*; the various deities who are associated with the care of the dead are said to come to the Ausari, , “for his protection.” The phrase is synonymous with , , and , all of which are likewise of frequent occurrence in the funereal texts, signifying “to make or exercise protection.”


(5) *Thus* . A comparison of passages in this text shows  generally introduces a sentence, which is sometimes an expansion and sometimes a summary of a preceding statement. Cf. (line 2)           (4)           (5)           (6)           (8)           and           (9)           (49)           (50)           (52)           (54)           (55)          .

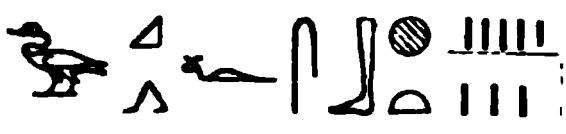
A somewhat similar use of  is found in the "Tale of the Two Brothers" (*Select Papyri*, Part II, Plates IX-XIX). In 7, 9, and 8, 1 we read:                    "He was weak, he became faint; so that his elder brother grieved his heart exceedingly." In 9, 7, 8:                              "Khnemu made for him a companion to dwell (with him): now, she was more beautiful in her limbs than any woman in the whole earth." In 14, 3:          "He drank it, so that his heart was in its place." It will probably be admitted that if  really begins a sentence in each of these cases, it must have some such meaning as we assign to it. But does it? In regard to the first example, it seems impossible to take any other view. "He became faint" can hardly take an object after it any more than "he was weak," which certainly has none. In the second instance, some authorities translate

* The papyrus has        

 by "To dwell with him." This we should expect to find written  (Cf.  [], "sitting with his wife," 1, 6, 7).  means simply "to dwell," as is proved by the immediately preceding expression , "dwell alone."  means literally something like "house-companion," or, as we have rendered it above, "a companion to dwell (with him)." In the third example, it is no doubt possible to take  as double subject, and  @ as object, but this would be a very unusual construction ; and in view of the precisely similar form of this and the two other sentences, it seems best to regard all three as containing the introductory demonstrative .

(6) *In the hand* . Goodwin's translation *in domo* is indefensible in view of the frequent occurrence of this phrase in places where the meaning is obviously "hand."* In many passages Rā, who is practically identical with Heru, is said to come forth from the horizon in the hand of a deceased king, who is of course identified with Ausāri (T. 178, see also M. 160 and N. 651).

(7) *They crossed over, each in proper time* . Each of these words is well known by itself, but it is somewhat difficult to gather the exact meaning of the sentence as a whole. Apparently the first line of the inscription described the rising of the Sun-god and his *entourage* of deities from the earth ; and the second line goes on to state that they crossed over the sky in an orderly procession to the earth again in the West.




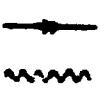












(8) *He entered into the secret pylons* . This sentence is very closely paralleled by one in the *Book of the Dead*:






* See the Stela of Heru-em-heb, line 2 (British Museum, 551, Egyptian Vestibule), and U. 291, 294 ; also U. 493, and N. 946, quoted in *Intr.*



representative $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{P}}\Rightarrow$ is not used in this way. In M. 129, $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{P}}\Rightarrow$ clearly ends a section. In U. 62, 63, we have a formula consisting of two parts, the second of which ends with $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{P}}\Rightarrow$; and in a variant quoted by Maspero from the coffin of Mentuḥetpu, where the parts are reversed, the word $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{P}}\Rightarrow$ adheres to its own part of the formula notwithstanding the changed position. Further, in N., where the formulæ are written in vertical columns with a blank space after each, the blank falls between $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{P}}\Rightarrow$ and the beginning of the next formula (315-317). Cf. Erman, *Grammar*, § 120.



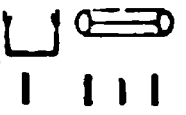
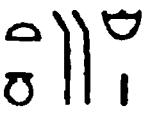
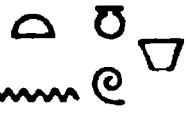




(13) The sense intended to be conveyed by the remainder of this line is far from clear, and we therefore leave it untranslated. Possibly the copyist has blundered in some way and placed the words in wrong order.

(14) It appears almost certain that lines 5 and 6 have been transposed by the copyist. If we take the text as it actually stands, the word    in line 6 is without any sign of the plural, and   in line 5 has a quite inexplicable determinative . If, on the other hand, we read        “(in) their shrines; he made flourish,” &c., the passage at once becomes clear. The first half of line 5 and the latter half of line 6 contain a number of verbs, each connected with the pronominal suffix  by the particle . If these lines are read as they stand, the two passages are disconnected, but if the order is reversed they form a connected whole. It is further to be noticed that in the actual state of the text the  is introduced abruptly, and it is difficult to say to whom it can refer, but in the reconstructed text it presumably refers to Ptehu. The general sense, moreover, is obviously improved by the emendation.


(15) *Brought* , probably equivalent to  of which the variant  is found in the Pyramid Texts (U. 296, P. 601, N. 534).



(16) *Where he went*  , literally "on his journeys."


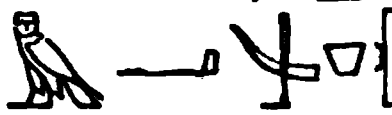

(17) Ptehu - Tatenen - Sepu  The meaning of the last word is very doubtful. Perhaps, however, it is the same as  one of the names of Ausari, frequently used in connection with the northern Annu (Lanzoni, *Dizionario di Mit. Egiz.*, 1045).



(18) Loaves out of measures of corn   is probably the same as  "loaves;"  is perhaps connected with  "vessel" or "measure" (E. de Rougé, *MS. Dict.*, quoted in Pierret, *Vocabulaire*, 675),  "part, portion, quota," and  a measure of capacity (Levi, *Vocabolario*, IV, 280, V, 30).  appears to be the same word as  "corn" (L. D., II, 147a; Birch, *Dict. in Bunsen's Egypt's Place*, V. 485).

It must be confessed that these words cannot be identified with certainty, nor is the general sense precisely what one would expect to find in such a context. It is, perhaps, not altogether unreasonable to suppose that the Egyptians believed the art of bread making to have formed part of the primeval revelation to man, in which case the first bread making, though not strictly an act of creation, might well be described along with the creation of food.



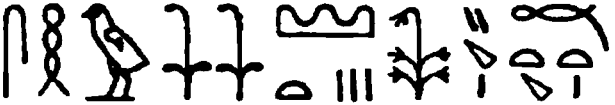

(19) Righteous unrighteous  literally "bearers of satisfaction" and "bearers of wickedness."






(20) These  . Perhaps a scribe's error, but more probably an archaic form of the demonstrative pronoun .






(21) Moreover  . Probably equivalent to  or  . This phrase primarily means "in face of," whence may be derived the sense of "together with, moreover."


(22) Quadrupeds  . These signs are partially destroyed, but in view of the context the reading is practically certain. The word is no doubt the same as .




(23) *Ptehu* in his divine forms , evidently
a mistake for .



(24) *Ptehu* of the earth  seems to be a variant of the word  to which Birch assigns the meaning "countries" (*Dict.*, 454). It occurs in the following passage :  which is the beginning of the title of a list of countries conquered by Seti I. A further variant appears to be , which Brugsch, however, translates by "Jagdrevier," but this is not supported by the passage above quoted (Mariette, *Abydos*, I, 40A ; Brugsch, *Dict.* VI, 678). Our rendering of the text is supported by the fact that in the two following titles Ptehu is described as "of heaven" and "in the great resting-place." The "great resting-place" is a name for the underworld (see lines 2 and 3), and Ptehu would thus be described as inhabiting all three divisions of the universe.







(25) *The earth.* The text has , a scribe's error for . The emendation is an obvious improvement and is supported by the partly parallel text at the beginning of the inscription. The words remaining at the bottom of line 43, together with , are identical with a passage in line 2; the words which follow  (= ) are substantially the same as those near the top of line 3; and those unobliterated in the lower part of line 44 reproduce those at the end of line 3.








Similar mistakes are to be found in the Pyramid Texts. In T. 256, 259, we find: , "That which Tetâ abominates is the earth; Tetâ does not enter into Sebu." The parallel text in U. 447 gives  in the place of ; the latter is obviously correct, and, as Maspero remarks, the error is easily accounted for by the close resemblance of the two characters in hieratic, as it is probable that all inscriptions were engraved from hieratic originals. In N. 682 also we have  for .

(26) *United* . This word is probably the same as










the  of the Pyramid Texts, and the   of the Book of the Dead; the sense appears to be "tie," "bind together." The latter form is used (L. T. 23, 1, 2) of the muzzle or bands on the mouth of the deceased.



(27) *In the midst of the earth* . Goodwin translated *amatus a Seb*, and this is a perfectly possible rendering. In view, however, of what follows, we prefer to take these words as descriptive of the position of the spot at which the solemn compact between Heru and Suti was made. In the passage quoted from the Pyramid Texts in Note 25  obviously means "enter into the earth."

(28) He protected their treaty  is apparently an archaic form of  in M. 206 takes the place of  in N. 667. Its existence does not appear to have been noted prior to the publication of the Pyramid Texts. The sense is clearly "protect": , "Rā purifies Pepi Neferkarā; he protects him from the evil which is done against him" (N. 656 ; see also T. 342 and M. 170). It is said of Nut: 
, "She protects thee, she unites herself to thee, she embraces thee, she raises thee up" (M. 138, 139, N. 647).

The root idea of  is to circumscribe, fix, determine (Renouf, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 78); hence model, plan, rule, law. The determination here referred to is the agreement or treaty made by Heru and Suti; and this treaty Sebu protects or carries into effect by bestowing the crowns of the two regions on the two combatants. The crowns were called      , "great of magical spells" (see line 49 of our text and M. 129); and possibly the possession of them was considered to magically secure the sovereignty to the owner.

(29) *The place where he was born.* The inscription actually reads :

 , which Goodwin translated (*in*) *loco unde venisset*, evidently identifying  with the well known group . If the text is correct, it must no doubt be understood in this way; but we suspect an error. In the latter part of this line the words relating to Heru are the same as those in line 52 with the necessary change of person; and it seems probable that those relating to Suti were originally the same as we find in line 53, with the like change of person. Moreover, this emendation is supported by grammatical considerations. The word , though sometimes spoken of as an adverb meaning "there," is really a preposition governing the suffix  or  understood, literally "in it." Now, this suffix must refer to an antecedent noun, and as the text stands there is no such noun to which it can refer. We therefore conclude that  is a mistake for  or .

(30) *Tatenen*. The text has , but in view of the close similarity between line 60 and part of line 50, it seems clear that we ought to read  as Goodwin suggested.

GOODWIN'S TRANSLATION.

(The italicised words represent errors in Goodwin's text, see *Intro.*)

Preface.

(2) Scripsit rex scripturam hanc de novo in domo patris Ptah Memphitici, cum invenisset eam rex factam a veteribus, exesam a vermibus gratia firmandi nomen suum, stabiliendi constitutiones suas in domo patris Ptah Memphitici in longam æternitatem. Factum a filio Solis Shabaka ad patrem Ptah Tata(nen), qui dat vitam æternam.

Text.

(1) Accedit ad palatium, consociatur deis Tatanen, Ptah domino annorum; ille (est). Erat Osiris in terra de Castello Ant in parte boreali terræ hujus. Accesit ad eum quidem filius ejus Horus, ornatus australi diademati, ornatus boreali diademati, in domo patris Osiridis cum deis qui ante eum et qui circum eum.

(2) Curant continuo eum, ducunt eum ad terram ; accedit ad porticus *stabiles*, quæ sunt in adytis dominorum æternitatis adversus ? ortum in viis solis in occidente,

(3) loco quo fuit ut Osiris mergeretur in aquis, conspicientibus Iside (et) Nephthye. Videntes illæ eum, adjuvant eum. *Dicit* Horus ad Isidem (et) Nephthin in Tattu ut prehendant Osiridem, ut salvent (eum) ne mergatur.

(4) Fiunt illæ *obedientes* ei. Offerunt illi dei omnes dona sua. Tunc *oblata est* domino *cæli* et terræ, arca Ptah ; *confecta est cisterna* deorum de domo Ptah, domini vitæ, domini ; facta est Ankh-ta-ta prope eam.

(5)* Salutat ille societatem eorum, præparat ille domus eorum ; statuit ille corpora eorum ; illi conciliant eum ; veniunt dei in corporibus suis, cum ligno omni, cum lapide omni, cum *sacello* omni, rebus omnibus vigentibus ; qui circum eum sunt

(6) dei, offerentes res quascumque, bona sunt. Thoth prudens, nobilissimus *multo* deorum, ille propitiat Ptah cum faciat res omnes, divina verba omnia. Tunc quoque creavit deos, fecit civitates, instituit provincias, posuit deos *securus* in cellis.

(7) Floret *domus* omnis cum jubet ; verba sapientiæ exeunt a lingua (ejus) ; fit benedictio in res omnes *die* dicendi quod fiant. Nondum fecerat deos Ptah-ta(nen). Tunc fuit ut creati sint dei ; exeunt res omnes ab illo, tam oblationes quam cibus in

(8) corde *ac etiam* lingua ; ille fecit opera *gravia* ? ferri ac etiam metalli ? fecit cibos omnes, oblationes omnes. *Divinum* decretum hoc factum est ad amicos (et) inimicos ; ille dat vitam justis, dat mortem injustis. Facit opera omnia, *instrumenta* omnia, fabricationem manuum, gressionem pedum,

(9) nativitatem societatis deorum, visionem oculorum, auditum aurium, inspirationem per nasum venti ; dant hæc voluptatem patri suo. Facit ut exeat decretum quodcumque a lingua, sapiens id sit. Creati sunt dei omnes (sed) nondum societas deorum ejus. Tunc facta est proclamatio divinorum verborum omnium sapientiæ.

(10) Societas deorum ejus coram eo in *quassatione* nervorum, *extensione* manuum. Tum *Horus* fit societas deorum, Tum per nervos ejus per digitos ejus ; societas deorum *triginta* ? Inscribitur in regione hâc Mat nomen rerum omnium exeuntium a Shu (et) Tefnet in illa ;

* As to the arrangement of lines 5 and 6, see Note 14

(11) est *quid* hujus, est *quid* illius, secundum voluntatem Ptah ; fit virtus in corde, vigor in manu, in stomacho omni, in ore omni deorum omnium, hominum omnium, *animalium* omnium viventium et intelligentium et *loquentium* ; quidquid placeat cuique,

(12) quidquid est in corde, quidquid est in lingua, in portione Tum. Maximus ille Ptah

Heading of lines 13, 14, 15, and 16. Ptah in the divine forms.

(13) Ptah the old.

(14) Ptah *king* of the land ?

(15) Ptah-Nun, *i.e.*, Ptah in the form of a water-god.

(16) Ptah in the ancient seat.

(43) Saith Horus to Isis and Nephthys
ducunt eum ad (locum)

(44)* quo mergeretur Osiris in aquis suis, conspicientibus Iside †

(50) Stet Horus super terram, conjunget terram hanc Mat in nomine prisco Tatanen Memphitice

(51) Address of Seb to Horus and Set : the south and the north to the first son of his body.

(52) Address of Seb to Horus : I per locum demersionis patris tui in eo. *In boreali regione ille est.* Seb dat hereditatem suam Horo filio.

(53) Address of Seb to Set : I per locum nativitatis tuæ. *Est* in australi mons, amatus a Seb, conjungens portionem Hori ad portionem Set.

(54) Cum divideret terras, ille (Seb) Horus (et) Set steterunt super stationem, conventum facientes : Terra de An terminus terræ est. Terra de An terminus terræ est.


(55) *Die comprimendi* rixas eorum, ponit Set regem in terra australi, in loco unde venisset ; ‡ in Sasasou ille est. Seb ponit Horum regem in terra boreali, in loco quo mersus est pater ejus.

(56) Offerunt illi dei omnes cum contenderet *cum* Set.


(57) Generatus est ille a Tum, creatore societatis deorum.

(59) Terram australem borealem conjunxit hic, ornatus australi corona, ornatus boreali corona.

(60) Ptah hic est Mat in nomine prisco . . . -

* As to the word  with which this line commences, see Note 25.

† As to the arrangement of the following lines, see *Intro*.

‡ See Note 29 on the translation of .

ASSYRIOLOGICAL GLEANINGS.—II.*

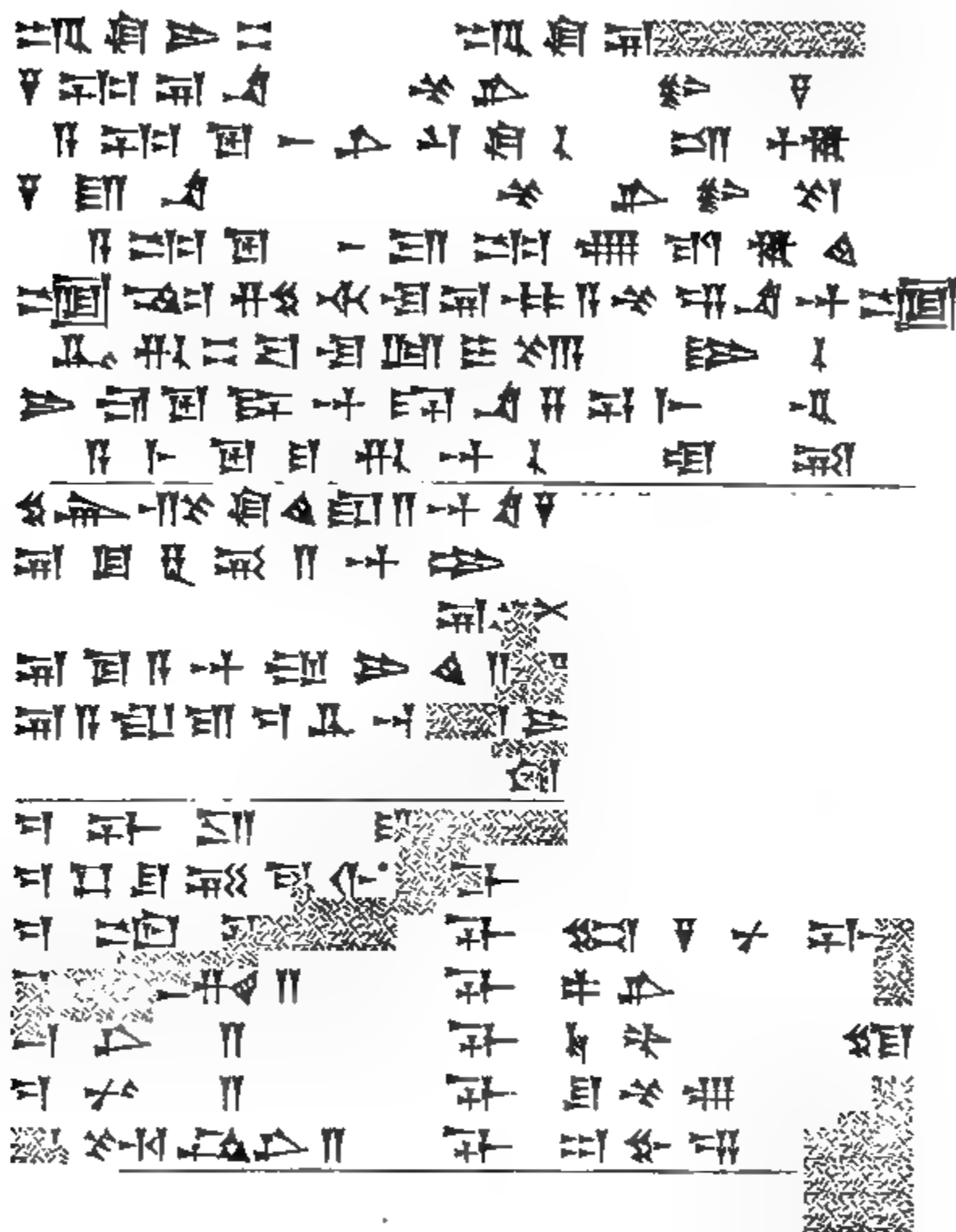
BY THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES.




The present paper is the second under a similar title which I have read before this Society, and it will be remembered that, in the former one, I brought to the notice of scholars some exceedingly interesting examples of what are evidently Babylonian students' notebooks, or exercises in reading and writing. If we may judge from the modern student, there is hardly any doubt that these youths of over 2000 years ago were proud of their work. As a rule, they wrote well, and show that they knew how to handle the stilus, but sometimes, as I pointed out, they made mistakes, by leaving out wedges, and in other ways. On the whole, however, their work is well done; but, good as it is, there is every probability that, in their riper years, when they came to look upon it at its true value, they did not think that it would ever be regarded as being of sufficient importance to be preserved in a national museum, and published and quoted as an authority in matters connected with the language which they spoke; and many a one, had he realised this, would doubtless have trembled on account of the slips he had made, and which may actually be leading us astray.

Nevertheless, the specimens of the work which these young Babylonian scribes have left us are very useful, and give us much information. They were evidently advanced students at the time they wrote out these useful and important copies. They had passed through the stage of single upright and horizontal wedges, and the combinations of one horizontal wedge with a "corner-wedge," corresponding with the pothooks and hangers of modern times, and badly enough they had done them sometimes. They had then written out the contents of the three series of syllabaries, the first with the values and the names of the characters, and the other two with the values of the characters and their meanings. From this they passed to other things still more advanced, but in what order

* For the first paper, see the *Proceedings* for Dec., 1896, pp. 250-258.

82-5-22, 946.



* These characters are written rather small, and at least part of them must, therefore, be a gloss. A comparison with the Tablet 81-2-1, 44 shows that the third character should be , and the completion of the whole is, therefore, probably , *lagab-mar*, the pronunciation of .

82-5-22, 946.

[illegible]

* Apparently miswritten for 𣎵.

The following is written, rather faintly, on the left-hand edge :—

下委班
下中班
區 班
中學
小學

it would be difficult to say. The texts which I published in the *Proceedings* in 1896 have titles of men, verbal forms, names of men and women, business phrases, and the dating of business documents. Other fragments, in the same paper, give extracts from bilingual lists and from legends, with productions of a similar nature. Evidently we have here examples of two different courses of study, the one for the scribes whose profession was to be the drawing up of business documents, and the other for those who aspired to something higher.

In the numerous words these young scribes quoted, we find new expressions for the different classes of sheep, the designations of the land in which they lived, and of foreign countries, including Paradise (called by them at that time *Pardēsu*). There are the words for a professional mourner and a magician, a new word for "dog" (unless it be a mistake), and various other things. Then there are extracts from legends—the infancy of Sargon of Agadé, and the Sun-god and the bird-catcher.*

It would be interesting to know what, in those days, was regarded as the proper education of a prince or king. Perhaps we may, in the course of time, find tablets giving information on this point—everything comes, they say, to those who wait. Did Sennacherib, when crown-prince, managing affairs in Armenia for Sargon the Later, his father, really write himself to the king the letters and reports bearing his name? We do not know. All that can be said is, that they are all in the same handwriting, but this only shows that they were all written by the same person, and may simply imply that he had only one scribe available at the time.

Of greater certainty, however, is the matter of Aššur-banī-āpli, "the great and noble Asnapper," the magnificent ruler to whom we owe the greater part of our knowledge of his country, and who has furnished us with such considerable material for studying his language and that of Babylonia, not only during his own time, but in the many ages which preceded it. The great pride which he took in this good work is fully indicated by the length and wording of the colophons which he attached to a large number of the tablets of his library, especially those which were done under his own supervision, and not purchased ready written. He also took delight in presenting tablets to the temple of Nebo, the god of literature, at Nineveh. It is noteworthy that this edifice, like the temple-tower dedicated to

* *Proceedings*, 1896, pp. 253, 254, 255, 257, 258.

Nebo at Borsippa (the supposed tower of Babel), bore the name of Ê-zida.

But the "great and noble" king, in his numerous colophons, claims more than the mere collection of tablets purchased or copied by his scribes. On more than one occasion he states *that he wrote them himself*. "I have written on tablets, compared, explained, and placed in the collection of Ê-zida, the temple of Nebo which is within Nineveh," he says on the tablets which he presented to the temple named. "The collection of the literature, which thing no one among the kings going before me had possessed—the deep wisdom of Nebo, the mass of the records as much as is prepared, I have written on tablets, compared (?), made clear, and placed in my palace for my reference and reading—thy prince, O light of the king of the gods, Aššur," is the statement found on the tablets brought from his private collection. Of course, there is every possibility that these statements are to be understood causatively, and that the writing was done for him by his scribes, for the production of such a mass of material would probably have interfered seriously with his kingly duties. But that this is not to be insisted on too much will be seen from the colophon, attached to certain bilingual lists (and probably also to texts of a different nature), of which the following is a translation :—

"Aššur-banî-âpli, the great king, the mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, grandson of Sennacherib, king of Assyria. According to the tablets and records, the copies of Assyria, Šumer, and Akkad, this tablet have I written, compared (?), made clear in the assembly of the experts, and placed in my palace for my consultation and reading. Whoever destroys my written name and writes his (own) name (in its place), may Nebo, the universal scribe, destroy his name."

Whatever doubt there may be in the other colophons as to the king having written the tablets himself, in the colophon here translated there is none. His words are clear, for he says that he wrote it (with, of course, all others bearing the same colophon), *ina taphartî ummani*, "in the assembly of those practised in the art," or, as I have rendered it, "the experts." Another meaning for the word *ummani** is "people," but as it is not likely that the king wished it to be understood that he acted as a scribe before the people assem-

* Cf. Fried. Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, *sub voce*.

bled, the meaning I have adopted in the translation seems to be the more probable. It would therefore seem that this ruler was not only a collector of tablets—one who aimed at the formation of a well-stocked library—but a veritable man of letters, who studied the literature of his country and Babylonia for his instruction and enjoyment, and the importance of the light thrown on his character by this cannot be overlooked.


Whether the following letter, from a man named Ašaridu, has any bearing upon this question depends entirely upon the answer to the query, Was it written to Aššur-banî-âpli? As, however, it is a text of some importance in other ways, I have introduced it here:—

“To the king my lord, thy servant Ašaridu. May Nebo and Merodach be favourable to the king of countries, my lord. The tablet which the king is doing is bad(?) and incomplete. Now a tablet—an old one—of Ammurapi the king,* I have made and written out. (It is) from the time of Ammurapi the king.* When I have sent (my messenger),† I will bring (it) from Babylon. [May] the king [do] the work [at] once of completed(?) not in[formed?] . . I (or, (as for) me) . . let him appoint me.”‡

Now too much cannot be based on this inscription, because it is too imperfect, but it must be conceded that there is every probability that it refers to an archaic text in which the Assyrian king—who can hardly be any other than Aššur-banî-âpli—was interested, and which he was engaged in copying out for his library. Ašaridu was at the time in the city of Babylon, the place of all others where good texts of Ammurapi (who can be none other than our old friend Hammurabi, the Amraphel of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis), were to be found. To all appearance, he states that he has made a copy of a good and really old tablet of this king for the ruler to whom he was writing, and that he would send it as soon as he could. What the rest of the inscription refers to is even more uncertain, the greater part of it being entirely lost. Judging from the last line, however, it would seem that he was seeking an appointment. The importance of this little inscription is, as will easily be recognized, that it not

* In both cases written , *Am-mu-ra-pi šarru*.

† Or “when I have executed my commission.

‡ Harper, *Letters*, No. 255. The last word of the text I read , *li-ki-pan-ni*, with a small blank space before the first character.

only refers to the favourite occupation of the great and noble Asnapper, but also gives the name of the Babylonian king Ammurapi, in the nearest form to the name of Amraphel known, though the final / has still to be accounted for.

We have seen what the scribes did who intended to devote themselves to legal documents, and it remains now to speak of those who, like the king of Assyria, intended to study the literary works of their country, with the intention of supplying the wants of those who desired to possess copies of them. Many exceedingly important tablets bearing on this exist, and give much information. Thus one student would write out extracts from lists of wooden objects (parts of ships, parts of chariots, and weapons, which last seem to have been sometimes, in earlier times, wholly or partly of wood). Another would write out a list of wooden objects, canes, or plants, etc. Sometimes, also, an extract from a syllabary in three or four columns would be added. Those who had a preference for animals would, perhaps, whilst the mood was upon them, begin with sheep and end with horses and asses, as does one of the tablets of this class in the museum of New York. But certain of the exercises were very comprehensive, and the classes of texts drawn upon, or the number of extracts made, exceedingly numerous, when we consider the size of the piece of inscribed clay which has come down to us. One of those in the British Museum, for example, has extracts from (1) a list of temples, (2) a list of wooden objects, (3) two extracts from lists of plants, and (4) four extracts from lists of pots and vessels.

In addition to the various extracts from bilingual lists and similar texts, however, many of them begin with a quotation from a connected text, generally, to all appearance, bilingual. This, of course, is remarkable, and would seem to be directly contrary to the system in use at the present day, in which, if I am not mistaken, the writing out of lists of words as an exercise would naturally precede the writing out of extracts from standard works. Doubtless, however, there was good reason for this step, for an interesting extract would naturally stimulate the interest of the student, and lead him to see the use of studying the dry and difficult bilingual lists which enabled him to understand not only the Semitic literature of his native land, but also that of the old non-Semitic population of the country.

And the tablet to which I have more especially referred, that containing the large number of extracts, has also, at the beginning,

Rm. IV, 97 (33,541).

OBVERSE.

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[illegible]

See l. 7.
 † For **v**?
 ‡ Or **v**?

an extract from a bilingual text—to be precise, the student gives us nine lines from a magical inscription which, when I first copied the tablet, I could not understand, partly on account of the indifferent writing in some places, but principally because the end of each line was broken away. I was not long, however, in finding help, for the strange phrase “set food by his head,” attracted my attention, and caused me to refer to another tablet, found by Mr. Rassam, which the difficulty of the text, and the indifferent light of my dingy room at the British Museum, with its not over-large window set in a wall more than a yard thick, did not prevent me from copying, and collating carefully afterwards—as nearly as I can remember, I did this at my leisure—which is more than can be said for my official work.

The tablet giving the full text of the extract, however, is unfortunately not altogether perfect, but the drift of the whole can probably be made out fairly well—that is to say, as far as its difficult nature, combined with the mutilation of the tablet, allows. It begins by referring to something which, if separated from a region, or a district, or a sanctuary, caused them to fall away—they “became remote,” as the original has it. In like manner this thing had been separated from a man, who was fated to be afflicted with that misfortune, and “he bowed down the *šebri* of his neck like a tree which had been felled.” The god Ea (or Ae or Aa) saw him, placed food by his head, and made the food approach his body, and then “he prayed the prayer of life.” This, to all appearance, it is which immediately follows: “Thou art a man who is the son of his god. The food which I have brought near to thy head, the food which has purified thy body, may it relieve thy sickness, and live thou. May thy foot stand on the ground of life. Thou art a man who is the son of his god, the eye which looks at thee for misfortune, the eye which looks at thee for evil, he who in the making of of the rod of death may Damu strike with the mace . . . may Gunura bind with the great cords. Like rain which is caused to come down from heaven, the thing making evil (?) is cast down—may Ea, king of the Abyss, remove it from thy body. End of the incantation.”

This is followed by the catch-line (or lines) and the colophon stating that the tablet had been reproduced like the old copy, and giving, to all appearance, the name of the person who had caused it to be copied, and the scribe who had copied it.

Now I do not pretend to say that I have given a faultless transla-

tion of this imperfect and, in many respects, difficult inscription, but this I think I can claim, namely, to have produced a fairly trustworthy rendering on the whole, as far as our present knowledge of the language goes. I will not trouble you at present with disquisitions on the words, but will merely remark that one of them, that which I have translated "cord," is the well-known word *ṭarkullu*, found in the story of the flood, in the passage where it is said that Nergal, the god of disease and death, dragged them out, implying that they were something which held the vessel fast. There is, in fact, hardly any doubt that, as indicated (though not stated) by Prof. Fried. Delitzsch in his Assyrian dictionary, *ṭarkullu* is a synonym of *irku*, "rope," or, in speaking of a ship, "cable," and Nergal's action was apparently intended to bring about the destruction of the ship and its occupants.

The magical text from which the Babylonian student made his quotation as an exercise, however, is one of special interest in its way. There is, in the first place, the medical question involved: What was the nature of the malady from which the afflicted man was supposed to be suffering? From the wording, it might be nothing more than a fainting-fit, but one would hardly imagine that this would call for the intervention of the god Ea to work a cure. One thing, however, is certain, and that is, that whilst he lay unconscious, food was to be set by his head. This, be it noted, was also done in other cases, as may be seen from the incantations printed in the fourth volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, plate 16, l. 38. In a parallel passage (pl. 27, ll. 52-54) there is an additional qualifying word, namely, *li*, which Delitzsch suggests is some kind of medicament. We may regard it, therefore, as meaning roughly, the remedy, and translate, "he placed the food of the remedy by his head."

In connection with this may be pointed out that, in the Story of the Flood, it is stated that, on the occasion of the ceremonies which attended the cure of Gilgameš, when he was restored to his proper form, "sleep, like a dark cloud, hovered over him," and, whilst in this state, the wife of Pir-napištim, the Chaldean Noah, was instructed to "cook his food, and set it by his head," which she did. All the various processes connected with this are then recounted, six in number, and it is then stated that "seventhly he (or she) touched him suddenly, and he awoke a man."

In 1 Sam. xxvi, we learn that Saul, when on warlike expeditions,

slept with a cruse of water (for the quenching of his thirst) at his head, as well as a spear to defend himself with in case of attack. It would therefore seem to have been a universal custom, invested by the primitive Babylonians with some mystic power in certain cases, when it was necessary to invoke the help of the gods to restore the sick and suffering to health.

But the other part of the inscription is not without its interest. The prayer of life (*ikribi balātu*), for instance, has some noteworthy phrases. It calls the stricken man "the son of his god," a phrase which was correctly compared by the late G. Bertin with the "sons of God," of Gen. vi, 2—the faithful ones who, looking on "the daughters of men," apparently the children of the godless portion of the community, or those who were regarded as such by the author of the Biblical text, chose wives for themselves from among them. Then, after the expression of the wish that the feet of the sick man might stand on the ground of life (*ina qaqqaru balātu šêp-ka lizziz*), there are two phrases which suggest that the god (Ea) asked that the eye of wrong and evil might be turned aside, but what follows this is very uncertain, on account of the mutilation of the text. The "rod of death," for instance, being a combination of the remains of the Akkadian and the Assyrian lines, the two words are, on that account, doubtful as to their real connection. What was to be smitten with a two-edged sword (so I translate the word *paštum*—it was apparently made of bronze, and furnished with a handle of some thick kind of cane) is uncertain—perhaps it was the person supposed to have wrought the evil, either by "the evil eye," or by some other means. In all probability there is less doubt with regard to the binding (?) of the evil spirit (?) with great cords (in Akkadian *targula gala-bi gumuntar[ra ?]*, Assyrian *ina tarkullê rabêtum lille[tû ?]*). The "prayer of life" ends with the hope that the thing causing the sickness might be cast down, like the rain which is sent down from heaven, and that the god Ea, the creator of the gods, might remove it from the body of the afflicted one. It is noteworthy that Merodach, son of Ea, who was elected, according to the story of Bel and the Dragon (the Semitic story of the Creation), king of the gods, is not mentioned, suggesting that this incantation belongs to the period preceding the introduction of the worship of Merodach as supreme deity—that is to say, prior to Babylon becoming the chief city of the empire.

As will be seen from the transcription of the whole, the remainder

of the text is sufficiently interesting. The extract from a list of temples is, to a certain extent, illustrated by a fragment of a duplicate of the original list from Nineveh.

Sometimes, the student found sufficient variety in a single inscription, and wrote out a long extract from a bilingual list, and tablets exist in which the writer has copied the same extract twice, probably to impress it more firmly on his memory. The most noteworthy of the inscriptions of this class is that of which the text was published by Dr. Haupt, who added the variants which I had succeeded, with considerable trouble (the writing being difficult in the extreme), in obtaining from it. This text contains commercial expressions of a very early age, and lists of the months, and it is not, therefore, difficult to guess the purpose for which the exercises were written out. Like other lists of the same nature and date, it suggests that there was considerable conservatism in the character of the Babylonians, for the phraseology had changed somewhat since the sentences inscribed in these lists were in use, and to learn them so thoroughly as this tablet implies was hardly necessary.

All these documents are, as has been already remarked, of late date, the royal name appearing on one of those published in my last paper of gleanings being that of Philip, son of Alexander. Unfortunately, however, the scribe has in many cases only added, where the date is preserved, the day and the month, so that the name of the ruler in power at the time cannot be ascertained.

All the tablets of this period show that, notwithstanding that Babylonia had been under foreign rule for a long period, probably from one to two centuries, the national feeling and spirit, and probably also the love of the national language and literature, continued unabated. Indeed, there is every probability that the Babylonian language did not cease to be spoken until the advent of the Christian era, and possibly later. As is now certain, the depopulation of Babylon consequent on the building of Seleucia on the Tigris, as it is always called on the monuments to distinguish it from the other cities of that name (the Greek authors generally made use of the same distinction, and give it the same title, namely, *Σελεύκεια ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγρητι*), did not interfere with the religious services in the temples of the city, which went on as usual. This being the case, it is not to be wondered at that the people should have looked with sadness at the past, and thought over the departed glories of their native land. Indeed, they, in their turn, must have been as

sad as the Jews who, as it were (to them) but yesterday, had wept when thinking of far-off Sion, unable to sing the Lord's song because they were in captivity beside the rivers of Babylon.

And so, when these thoughts came upon them they sang, or murmured, or chanted, a mournful composition of ancient date, of which the following is a transcription and attempted translation :—

RM. IV, 97 (3354).—TRANSCRIPTION.

- Mar-ša-a-tam Uruk D.S., mar-ša-a-tam A-ga-de D.S., šu-nu(?) -la-ak
Arka-(D.S.)-a-a-i-tum tab-ku ša paṭ-rat gu-zi-lit-su šuma (?) ša
šul (?) -lu di-du-šu
- 3 Mârat Uruk D.S. tab-ku mârat A-ga-de D.S. ta-nam-bi
Ša mârat Lar-ak D.S. ina iubuṣti-šu kul-lu-lu-ma pani-šu
Hur-sag-kalam-ma-(D.S.)-i-tum tab-ku ša ig-me-tum mut-su
- 6 D.P. Hul-ḥu-ut-ḥu-ul-i-tum tab-ku ša tas-qu-pu ḥu-da-aš-tum
Maš-(D.S.)-i-tum tab-ku ša sibat âḥé-šu di-i-ku ša ḥa-lib-šu
šu-nu-ul-lu
A-ga-de-(D.S.)-i-tum tab-ku sa pa-ar-mu-sa-as-su di-ku bêl
la-li-e-šu
- 9 Ki-e-šu-i-tum tab-ku a-ši-ti(?) -ku ba-nu ša šum bêti-šu u-su-tu-u-a
ḥa-an-šu
Dun-na-a-a-i-tum tab-ku Ana man-nu iršu ana man-nu mu-ši-e
Ana man-nu ki-i-na (?) na-ak-ri mu-ši-e šu-ḥur-ru-ru-tu
- 12 Mârat Nippuri D.S. tab-ku ana Qu-ti-i ga-ma-ri ša me-ri
su-ri-it ap-pi-šu ig-me-it mut la-li-e-šu
Dûr-îli-(D.S.)-i-tum ana Qu-ti-i ga-ma-ri
- 15 Ana ab-lu âli-šu ḥi-pu-u šul-pu-tu bêt âbî-šu
Aš-ša Uruk D.S. bi-ka' ki-li-li bal-tum maḥ-rat
Ya-a-ši ina me-ḥi-e a-šar ak-. -su ul i-di
- 18 Aš-ša Larak D.S. bi-ka' . . . -ri ḥu-ul-la-nu ig-me-ik
Êna-a-a la im-mar da-su- . . . -u-a nu-uk-ku-su ša mâri ummâti
Aš-ša Nippuri D.S. bi-ka' ya-a-ši a-me-tum gu-ul-tum
- 21 Šam-û tim-ti-mu-in (?) -ni
Kussî ni-mit-ti-ya ul-ta-bal-ki-tan-nu
ḥa-wi-ru mut la-li-e i-te-ma-ni Bêlu
-
- 24 Kima labiri-šu šaṭir-ma barim u up-pu-uš
Duppi Bêl-zêra-irbi âblu ša Bêl-âbâ-ûṣur mâr D.P. u-MUK
qâtâ Bêl-bullit-su mâri-šu pa-liḥ šarri ina ki-rib nu-par-šu
- 27 Bâbîli D.S. âraḥ Ululi ūmu ḥamiššêrû, šattu ešrâa-ḥamiltu,
Si-lu-ku u D.P. An-ti-u-ku-su
- 28 šar mâtâti

TRANSLATION.

- " For the misfortunes of Erech, for the misfortunes of Agadé, I am stricken.*
The Erechitess wept, that departed was her might, the Agaditess wept, that destroyed was her glory (?) ;
 3 *The daughter of Erech wept, the daughter of Agadé cried aloud ;*
As for the daughter of Larancha, in her garment her face was hidden,
The Harsagkalamitess wept, that her husband was in trouble ;
 6 *The Hulhuthulitess wept, that cast down was her sceptre ;*
The Mašitess wept, that her seven brothers were slain, that her garment has been ruined.
The Agaditess wept, that her elder was slain, the lord of her well-being ;
 9. *The Kēsitess wept—they have wrought destruction (?) for the name of her house : ' My helpers (?) are shattered ; '*
The Dunnaitess wept, ' Who has a resting-place, who has leave to go forth ?
Whose is it to defeat (?) the enemy (with) the exits cut off ? '
 12 *The daughter of Niffer wept, for the raging (?) Qutû assembled,*
She bowed down her face (on account of) the trouble of the husband of her well-being.
The Dûr-îlitess (wept) for the Qutû collected,
 15 *For the son of her city destroyed, the overthrow of her father's house.*
Weep for Erech, ravaging (and) shame she has received—
As for me, in the storm a place of refuge I know not.
 18 *Weep for Larancha—(for the spoiling?) of (my) mantle I am in trouble,*
My eyes see not my . . . , the mothers are cut off from the child.
Weep for Niffer, as for me, (with) abundance (of) affliction (?)
 21 *Heaven has bound me fast ;*
The throne of my glory has been caused to pass away from me ;
The bridegroom, the husband of well-being, Bêl has taken away from me."
-
- 24 *Like its original written, made clear, and acquired.*
Tablet of Bêl-zêr-lišir, son of Bêl-âbâ-ušur, son of the . . .
 [By] *the hands of Bêl-bullit-su, his son, fearing the king in the midst of his mind (?)*
 27 *Babylon, month Elul, day 15th, year 25th, Seleucus and Antiochus king of countries.*

This colophon is a common one at this period (compare that of Rm. IV, 90, pp. 208 and 210). The date seems to show clearly that the inscription was written out in the reign of the first Seleucus, surnamed Nicator, who associated with himself his son Antiochus on the throne. As this Seleucus was the founder of Seleucia on the Tigris, there is every probability that the lamentation here translated was copied out on account of the departing glories of Babylon, whose inhabitants were now migrating to the new metropolis.

There is hardly any doubt that the inscription itself was composed at a very early date, and that the cause of its composition was the depredations of the dread Qutû, a people inhabiting, according to Delitzsch, the upper river-district of the Adhem and the Diyala, east of Babylon. They are frequently mentioned at an early date, and an examination of the ancient history of Babylonia will probably furnish some clue as to the date of this composition.







Another interesting point is the place-names that the inscription contains. Besides Erech, Agadé or Akkad, Larancha, Harsagkalama, Kêš, Dunnu (there was also a city called Dunnu-šaidu), Niffer, and Dûr-îli, a new name, Hûlûthûl, occurs, together with one which *may* be new, namely, Maš (such is the general reading of the character, but the variant which supplies the reading leaves the supposition that the character may have been pronounced Bar). Many of the principal cities of Babylonia occur, with the noteworthy exception (unless mentioned under another name) of Babylon, the capital of the united provinces. Whether this stamps the inscription as belonging to the period before Babylon attained prominence or not, is doubtful, but would seem to be probable.

In the three inscriptions of which I have spoken in this paper, we have, I think, two interesting additions to the literature of the ancient Babylonians and their close relatives, the Assyrians. At the same time, something of one of the phases of Babylonian life has been treated of, namely, the course of studies of the Babylonian scribes. Incidentally, also, the form of the name of Amraphel (namely, Ammurapi) nearest to that of the book of Genesis, has been mentioned, and the old lamentation of the principal cities of Babylonia over their misfortunes, which was copied out by Bêl-bullit-su for Bêl-zêr-lîšir in the 25th year of Seleucus Nicator, seems to reflect the feelings of the Babylonians of that date upon their subject position and the departure of their ancient glories, of which they and their forefathers had been so proud.

82-5-22, 946 (54626).

OBVERSE.

- En-ki lu-bi ¹ En-ki-ga¹
 Ga (?) sag-ga-na mu-ni-in-[gara]
 3 a-ka-lu ina qaq-qa-di- šu [iš-kun]
 Ga (?) su-na mu-ni-i[n-te]
 a-ka-lu ina ² zumri-ka u-ṭa-a[ḫ ³ -ḫi]
 6 Gušu (?) -ne nam-ti-la-gi ša-a ⁴ mu-un-n[a-an-gušu (?)]
 ik-ri-bi ba-la-ṭu i-kar-rab-[šu]
 Lu-al-lu dumu dingir-ra-na za-e-me-[en]
 9 a-me-lu ma-ri ⁵ ḫi-šu at-[ta]
-
- Še-ir-zi ki-šar-ra do. D.P. Šamaš ša purussâ ina zag- * *
 Ê-du-azag-ga do. D.P. Lugal-du-azag-[ga]
 12 Ê- . . . -kab- * .
 Ê-ku-a D.P. Asari-lu-duga do . . . âš Ê- D.P. Di- * .
 Ê-a-ra-zu giš-dua D.P. [Asari]-lu-duga ša
 15 ki (?) -ma-nu ša ki (?) -
-
- Giš mar saḫar- ra (?) . . . lit-ti . . . [bu]
 Giš lagab (la-gab-ma-ar) mar pi - i - [su] ⁶
 18 Giš eme (e[-me do.]) mar li-ša-nu mar-[ri] ⁷
 Giš igi (i-gi) (do.) mar pa-ni [do.] ⁸
 Giš du (do.) mar sik-kat-tu ⁹
 21 Giš umun (do.) mar šu-mu-u .¹⁰
 [Giš us]-dur (do.¹¹) mar ap-pu-un- .¹²
-

¹ This is omitted in the full text, 33534.² The full text has *ana*.³ Do. *ṭaḫ*.⁴ The full text omits *sa-a*.⁵ The full text has the ideograph , *mdri*.⁶ Var. pi-i-zu mar-ri. The restoration *pīsu* is based upon W.A.I.V, 18, 12, in which text the inscription here reproduced suggests the restoration of the first character as .⁷ Var. li-ša-nu do.⁸ Var. pa-an do.⁹ Var. sik-kat do.¹⁰ Var. šu-mu-u do.¹¹ As the character reproduced by do. () in lines 19-22 is written smaller than the rest, it may be conjectured that it is intended to replace the gloss *mar*, the pronunciation of the character  following it.¹² Var. ap-pu-un-na-at do. Also, instead of , it is possible to read , in which case the word would be *dubunnat* or *guppunnat*.

REVERSE.

	Gi ba-da-ra	qu-ša-ru
	Gi ka-šir	Do.
3	Gi ka-šir	ki-ši-ru
	Gi gil	Do.
	Gi gil šar-a	Do.
6	Gi sag-nu-til-la	šar-ra-ru-u .
	Gi ma - ma	pi-ša-an-nu su- .
	Gi ma - šag	šul ^(?) - lu - .
9	Gi ma su šag-ga	ša maš-ku uḫ-ḫu- .
	Gi egir - šub - ba	ša it-ta-a . .
	Gi siba (do.) man	ša um-ša - . .
12	Gi ninni	ša aš - [lu]
	Lut si-li-ma dag	ḫu-ub-ša- . . .
	Lut kisim - imina - bi	šur-šu-ub-[bu]
15	Lut kisim - maš - tab - ba tu - ma - ' - . .	
	Lut šag - gi - gan - na	šaggiganna - ku
	Lut maš - tab - ba	ka - bit
18	Lut a - lam - ma	kar - pat me - e
	Lut a - šed - de	do. do. ka - ṣ[u - u]

(Arḫu) Araḫ-samnu ūmu ḫamšu.

Transcription of the characters on the left-hand edge :

me-ti-um

me-si-ri

du-di

ud bulug

aš-qa






82-5-22, 946 (54626).



The following is a full description of the text which I have called the student's exercise :—

Section I (lines 1-9). For the translation of this, see pp. 206, 209.





















Section II (lines 10-15). This has the names of the following temples :

1. The brilliance of the host of earth : do. (*i.e.*, the temple) of the Sun-god who (pronounces?) (his) decision in the border(s of the land?).
2. The house of the Glorious Abode : do. (*i.e.*, the temple) of the king of the Glorious Abode.
3. Ê . . . -kab- . . .
4. Ê-*kua* of *Asari-lu-duga* (Merodach) : do. (*i.e.*, the temple) . . 6 (?), temple of Di- . . .
5. Ê-*arazu-giš-dua* (temple of the Hearing of Supplication) : (temple of) *Asari-lu-duga* (Merodach) of
6. *kimanu* (?) of *ki*-





Section III (lines 16–22) contains the words for different kinds of wooden constructions called in Sumero-Akkadian *mara*, and in Semitic Babylonian *marru*. According to the bilingual lists,  -, D.P. *mara*, is the dialectic form of   , D.P. *gigir*, “chariot,” though the words in the two dialects seem rather to be from different roots than dialectic variations of the same word.

1. The first compound suggests that besides the meaning of “chariot,” the word *mara* has also that of “cart” in general. As the third character ( ) stands, in Akkadian, for *sahar*, “dust,” it may be suggested that a cart for carrying earth or rubbish is meant. The Semitic translation is too mutilated to furnish any clue to the meaning.
2. *Lagab-mar* = *pîsu* or *pîsu marri*. Apparently the “enclosure,” or body of the vehicle.
3. *Eme-mar* = *lišanu marri*. The “tongue,” perhaps the pole.
4. *Igi-mar* = *pani marri*. The fore-part.
5. *Du-mar* = *sikkatum* or *sikkat marri*. Perhaps the “pin” which fastened something—the pole, the traces, or the wheels—to it.
6. *Umun* (*numun*) *mar* = *šumû marri*. Doubtful.
7. *Uzu-dur-mar* = *appunnat marri*. Doubtful (? “steps”).

Section IV (rev., lines 1–6). Plants, or things made therewith. The Semitic words in lines 1 and 3 (*qušaru* and *kiširu*) I have restored thus on account of the non-Semitic words *ka-sir*, in lines 2 and 3, from which they are apparently derived, or with which they may have been popularly connected. *Kiširu*, in line 3, is apparently for *giširu*, in accordance with the rule by which *q* often changes to *k*

before *i* or *e*. A synonym, apparently, of *qušaru* and *kiširu* is *hišu*, meaning, according to Fried. Delitzsch, something woven, suggesting here some such signification as "basket-work." The last word of the section is peculiar, as the student seems to have substituted for a character which ought to have been there a description of it. He has called it *sag-nu-tila*, "incomplete *sag*," the name of the character standing for *mutlatu*, "hair," suggesting that instead of      , we should read simply      , the Assyrian form of which would be      . In view of the above, the question naturally arises, whether the Semitic Babylonian rendering, *šarrarrû*, be a reduplicate form of the root (*šâru*), Heb.  . This would imply a hairy plant of some kind.

Section V (rev., lines 7-12). Apparently for the most part receptacles of various kinds :

1. *Pisannu* means "receptacle," but the qualifying word is incomplete.
2. Another word for something similar, but the final character of each column is defaced or wanting.
3. In *gi-ma-su-šagga* and *ša mašku uḥḥu(zu?)* we have probably "reed-receptacle, leather-ornamented," and "(receptacle) with leather covered," in each idiom respectively.
4. *Gi egir šubba* suggests something of wicker-work covered with bitumen (*ittâ* in the Semitic column is the accusative of *ittû*, "bitumen").
5. The Semitic *umša* - . . is possibly to be completed *umšati*, "dearth," suggesting a plant growing in desert places.
6. The completion *ašli* is suggested by W.A.I. V, pl. 40, l. 28 a, where     is rendered by the words *ašlu katu*. A synonym of this expression is *elpitu*, "exhaustion," so that *ša umšati* and *ša ašli* ought to mean practically the same thing.

Section VI (line 13). A kind of vase. Doubtful.

Section VII.

1. Possibly a vase with seven divisions, or a set of vases totaling seven in number. The completion of the Semitic word *šuršubbu* is given by the following fragment (l. 3), unnumbered when I made a rough transcription of it :

(1) ur-ru-ub		ur-ru-ub-(bu)	} <i>Vases.</i>
(2) ur-šu-ub		ur-šu-ub-bu	
(3) šur-šu-ub		šur-šu-ub-bu	
(4) ku-ru-un		ta-a-bu,	<i>sweet wine.</i>
(5)		da-mu,	<i>blood (? red wine).</i>
(6)		ku-ru-un-nu,	<i>wine.</i>
(7)		ši-ka-rum,	<i>beer (?).</i>
			(? = ši-i-rum).
(8)		ka-ra-nu,	<i>wine.</i>
(9)		pa-ḥa-rum,	<i>potter.</i>
(10)			<i>god Éa.</i>

REV.

(11) Nun-ur-ra		šu (= do.),	<i>a name of Éa.</i>
(12)			<i>god Éa.</i>
(13) Lil-lu		šu (= do.),	<i>a name of Éa.</i>
(14) bi-i		šu-u,	<i>he, that.</i>
(15)		šu-nu-u,	<i>they, these, those.</i>
(16)		ga-bu-u,	<i>to speak.</i>
(17)		na-bu-u,	<i>to call, etc.</i>
(18)		ḫi(?) -is-sa-tum,	<i>thought (?), etc.</i>
			(broken.)

[The characters explained are (lines 1-8), (lines 9-13), and (lines 14 ff.). The small in lines 1-4 is repeated merely to show that is (=) with inside.]

2. A double or "twin" vase, in the Semitic rendering apparently to be read or completed *tuma'atum* (possibly a mistake for *tu'amatum*, unless we are to complete the word *tuwa'amatum*).

Section VIII (rev., lines 16 and 17).

1. *Šaggiganna*, which is here Semiticised *šaggigannaku*, should mean, according to the bilingual lists, something like "vase of one's heart's desire."
2. Another double or "twin" vase, but the Semitic rendering is doubtful.

Section IX (lines 18 and 19).

1. Possibly "vase of hot water."
2. Possibly "vase of cold water."

The inscription ends with the date, "month Marcheswan, day 5th," without any year, and minus the name of the king ruling at the time.

Rm. IV. 90 (33534). Obv.

Latin and English transcription and translation, to show the arrangement.

- 1 a - lu - u ša amela
 *the spirit who puts an*
 i - qat - tu : al - lu lu til - la
end to a man : genius hominem occidens
- 2 : nig aš - am
 : *quod unum est*
- 3 -ta : kalam - ma - gi
 : *terræ*
- 4 ša ni-ši : zi lu - al - lu - gi
 *[the soul] of a man : anima(m) hominis*
- 5 mut-tal-lik-tum : pap - ḫal - la - gi
 *of the raging : furoris*
- 6 [ip]-pal-gam-ma tup-ki u-ri-ik : ub im - su
[regioni discidium erat : to the region] there was separation
and the region fell away : regio deficit
- 7 [ip]-pal-gam-ma ša-ḫat u-ri-ik : da im - su
[limiti discidium erat : to the boundary] there was separation
and the boundary fell away : limes deficit
- 8 maš-tak ma-a-tam ip-pal-gam-ma maš-tak ma-a-tam u-ri-ik :
[sanctuario terræ discidium erat : to] the sanctuary of the land
there was separation and the sanctuary of the land fell away :
 malgi (?) kalam-ma im-su
sanctuarium terræ deficit
- 9 [lu-al-lu] pap-ḫal-la-šu ab - ši - in - bara giš qud - da - kime
homini furioso discidium erat arbori cæsæ similis
 gu ki-a im-mi-in-gam
colli locum incurvavit

10 ana a-me-lu mut-tal-li-ku ip-pal-gam-ma ki-ma iṣ-ṣi
to the raging man there was separation and like a tree
 nak-su še-eb-ri ki-šad-su iq*-ta-du-ud
cut down the breaks of his neck he bowed down

11 En - ki lu - bi : D.P. Êa amelu šu-a-tim i-mur-ma-a :
Deus Êa hominem illum : Ea that man saw and :
 igi-u-ne-in-gaba
vidit

12 ga (?) sag - ga - na : a-ka-lu ina qaq-qa-di-šu iṣ-kun :
alimentum ad caput suum : food by his head he placed :
 mu-ni-in-gara
deposuit

13 ga (?) su-na : a-ka-lu ana zumri-šu u-ṭaḥṭ-ḥi :
alimentum corpori suo : the food to his body approached :
 mu-ni-in-te
appropinquavit

14 gušu (?) - ne nam-ti-la-gi † mu-un-na-an-gušu (?)
preces vitæ precatus est

15 ik-ri-bi ba-la-ṭu i-kar-rab-šu
the prayer of life he prayed for him

16 lu-al-lu dumu dingir-ra-na : âmēlu mâr îli-šu at-ta :
homo filius dei ejus : A man the son of his god art thou :
 za - e - me - en
tu es

17 [ga (?) sag]duga (?) : a-ka-lu ša ina qaq-qa-di-ka
alimentum (quod) capiti : the food which to thy head
 u-ṭaḥ-ḥu-u : [mu-ni]-in-te-a-ta
approaches : appropinquat

18 [ga (?) su] - zu : a-ka-lu ša zu-mur-ka
alimentum (quod) corpus tuum : the food which thy body
 u-kap-pi-ru : [mu-ni-in]-šub-ba-gi(?)
nourishes : nutrit

* The original seems to have *ip*, probably a mistake of the scribe.

† Var. : ṭa-a[h].

‡ Here the extract adds *ša-a*, "faciens."

- 19 [tu-ra]-zu gi-en-ip-sig-ga za-e-me-en
agritudinem tuam leviat, tu es [vivens?]
- 20 [mu-ru]-uṣ-ka lip-šaḥ-ma at-ta bu-lu-[uṭ]
thy sickness may it ease and thou, live thou
- 21 [ki-a nam]-ti-la-gi gira-zu gub-bu-ne
humi vitæ pes tuus stet
- 22 [ina qaḳ]-qa-ru ba-la-tu še-ep-ka li-iz-ziz
in the ground of life thy foot may it stand
- 23 [lu]-al-lu dumu dingir-ra-na za-e-me-en
homo filius dei ejus tu es
- 24 [a]-me-lu ma-ri ḥli-šu at-ta
a man the son of his god art thou
- 25 [igi] nig gig-ga : i-ni ša ana ma-ru uṣ-tum
oculus qui detrimenti causa : the eye which for ill
 ip-pal-su-ka : mu-un-ši-in-bar-ra
has regarded thee : te aspexit
- 26 [igi] nig ḥul - dim - ma : i - ni ša ana limut - tum
oculus qui, malificiens : the eye which for evil
 ip-pal-su-ka : mu-un-ši-in-bar-ra
has regarded thee : te aspexit
- 27 gar-ra-gi : ša ina a- ba (?)
 faciens(?) : which by . . . -making(?)

RM. IV. 90 (33534). REV.

- 1 -gi
- 2 a-lu

- 3 ug-ga
 mors
- 4 -la qa-ni-e
 cane
- 5 da-mu (eri) šen-tab-ba ḡu - mu - un - sig - ga
Damu gladio(?) duplice pulset
- 6 da-mu ina pa-aš-tum li-im-ḥa-aṣ . . . -a- . . .
Damu with the double sword (?) may she strike . . .

- 7 D.P. Gu-nu-ra dargula gala-bi ġu-mu-un-tar-ra . .
Gunura fune magno suo astringat
- 8 D.P. šuma ina tar-kul-li-e ra-bi-tum lil - te - tu (?)
Gunura with the great cords may he bind
- 9 šeqa an-na-ta sa-dim ki-a mu-un-ši-in-bar-ra-aš (?)
pluviae ex cœlo cadenti similis, in terram missæ
- 10 ki-ma zu-un-nu ša iš-tu šam-e šur-du-u . . . gir
like rain which from heaven is made to descend, . . . (and)
uš-uš-ru
directed (to the earth),
- 11 su-bar-ra-zu-ta En-ki lugala abzu-gi ġi-im-ma-ra-ab-zi
ex corpore tuo deus Êa rex abyssi id (scil. malum) auferat
- 12 ina zu-um-ri-ka D.P. Êa, šar ap-si-i li-is-suḥ-šu
from thy body Êa King of the abyss may he remove it.
temena en
Fînis incantamenti
-
- 13 En šu-si zi lu-al-lu-gi
Incantamentum. Digitus anima hominis
- 14 nu amelu-ut-tim . . . lim-nu
. of men . . . evil
-
- 15 Kima labiri-šu šaṭir-ma barim u up-pu-uš duppi
Like its original written and made clear and acquired. Tablet of
Iddina-Bêl, abli ša
Iddina-Bêl son of
- 16 -zêri mâr Iddina- . . . qâta D.P. Nergal-ina-êšî-êṭir,
. -zêri son of Iddina- . . (by) the hands of Nergal-ina-êšî-êṭir,
abli ša
son of
- 17 -u-a
. my

(In the above rendering, the English translation is placed under the Semitic version, which is either below the Akkadian version, or between the beginning and the end of the latter, the division between the two being in each case marked by a colon. The Latin translation has been placed under the Akkadian portion in order to preserve the appearance of the original, and to give, at the same time, an

idea of the nature of the text in a more vivid manner than is customary.

With a fuller knowledge of the non-Semitic idiom, which more material alone can give, there is no doubt that a better rendering than the above could be produced. The cuneiform text, also, may be capable of improvement, but I have unfortunately not had an opportunity of revising it.)

In the following free translation, the Semitic and non-Semitic versions have been combined, and alternative renderings of certain passages substituted :—

FREE TRANSLATION.

- the spirit who puts an end to a man,
 which is one ;
 3 of the land ;
 [which takes away ?] the soul of a man ;
 of the raging.
 6 [When things] went wrong [with the region], the region fell
 away ;
 [when things] went wrong [with the boundary], the boundary
 fell away ;
 [when things went wrong with] the sanctuary of the land, the
 sanctuary fell away ;
 9—10 [when] the raging man had a relapse, he bowed down the
 vertebrae of his neck like a tree which had been felled.
 The god Êa saw that man, and*
 placed food by his head ;*
 13 the food approached his body.*
 He prayed for him the prayer of life :*
 "Thou art a man who is the son of his god.*
 17 The food which approaches as it were into thy head,
 the food which nourishes thy body,
 may it ease thy sickness, and live thou.
 21—22 May thy foot stand on the ground of life.
 Thou art a man who is the son of his god—
 the eye which has regarded thee for ill,
 26 the eye which has regarded thee to work evil,
 which by making

* These lines are given by the student who wrote the exercise-tablet.

REVERSE.

3-4 . . . death-reed (?)

May Damu strike with the double sword

May Gunura bind with the great cords.

9-10 Like rain which is made to descend from heaven, and is
directed upon the earth,

may Êa, king of the Abyss, remove it from thy body." End
of the incantation.

Incantation: The finger the spirit of a man.

14 of men . . . evil.

Written and made clear like its original, and acquired. Tablet
of Iddina-Bêl, son of

. -zêri, son of Iddina . . . by the hand of Nergal-ina-
êši-êtir, son of

17 my

GREEK OSTRAKA FROM EGYPT.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE (*President*).

To the list of places in Egypt in which ostraka are found must now be added El-Kab, where I picked up two, one Greek and the other demotic, and Kom Ombo, where I purchased a Greek ostrakon that had been discovered among the ruins of the ancient town. The Greek ostrakon of El-Kab is as follows :

I. Ψεμπκης Ωρ
ου λαογρ ιγ^Λ
ς ε Λιγ φαρμ(ε)νω(θ) ᾱ

“Psempkhês the son of Hôros (has paid) for the poll-tax of the 13th year (of Augustus) 16 drachmæ. The 13th year, the 1st day of Phamenoth.”

The ostrakon is interesting in more ways than one. First of all it shows that the amount of the poll-tax paid at El-Kab (Eileithyias) was the same as at Elephantinê and the Memnonia (see Wilcken : *Griechische Ostraka*, I, p. 238). Secondly the date is interesting in view of recent discussions about S. Lu. ii, 1, 2. It is another proof that the poll-tax goes back to at least the 13th year of Augustus (B.C. 18). The Berlin Museum already possesses an ostrakon from Thebes, containing a receipt for the payment of the poll-tax (10 drachmæ) for that year, given at Thebes on the 6th of Pharmuthi (April 1st). The El-Kab ostrakon, on the other hand, is dated the 1st of Phamenoth (Feb. 25th). See Wilcken, No. 357.

On an ostrakon I obtained this winter at Elephantinê, the amount of the poll-tax is given as only 14 drachmæ in the 12th year of Domitian. The text is as follows :

II. διεγραψ[ε]
Πατχους Πετεψαιτος
υ[περ] λαογραφ[ιας] ιβ^Λ
Δομ:τιανου του κυριου
5. δραχ[μας] ιδ Καλ(?) Σωκρατιων
πρακτ[ωρ] εγραψ[α]

“Registration of Patkhus, son of Petepsais, for the poll-tax of the 12th year of Domitian the lord, 14 drachmæ. I, Kallias (?) Sokration the tax-gatherer, have written (this).”

The Kom Ombo ostrakon reads thus :

III. πανν[ι] ᾱ̄ εως λ̄ του Λι ανδ[ρες] λ[α]
 επειφ[ι] ᾱ̄ εως λ̄ ανδ[ρες] λβ
 μεσο[ρη] ᾱ̄ εως δ̄ (sic) ανδ[ρες] λγ
 [θ]ωθ ᾱ̄ εως λ̄ ανδ[ρες] ε
 5. [α]πο ε̄ εως κ̄

“From the 1st to the 30th of Payni of the 10th year 3[1] men (employed); from the 1st to the 30th of Epiphi 32 men; from the 1st to the [30th] of Mesorê 33 men; from the 1st to the 30th of Thoth 5 men; from the 6th to the 20th” In the third line “4” is evidently a scribe’s error for “30.”

Among the Karnak ostraka that I have purchased this winter is one that is interesting, as giving the full name of the emperor Galba :

IV. Χαταβους κ[αι] μ[ετοχοι] απαιτ[ηται] τελ[ωναι] Φανητ[ι] Οσορουη[ρει]
 Φανητ[ιος]
 χ[αι]ρ[ειν] · απεχο[μεν] το βαλ[ανικον] ᾱ Λουκιου Λιβιου
 Σεργικιου Γαλβα σεβα[στου] αυτοκρατορος μ[εσ]ωρηλ̄

“Khatabus and the rest of the tax-farmers’ company to Phanês Osoruêris, the son of Phanês, greeting : we receive (from you) the bath-tax for the first year (B.C. 68) of Lucius Livius Servicius Galba Augustus, the emperor, the 30th day of Mesorê” (Aug. 23rd).

Wilcken (*Griechische Ostraka*, I, p. 600) has shown that the *ἀπαιτῆται* were employed in exacting the arrears of taxation.

Here is another from Karnak with new formulæ :

V. μεμετ[ρηκασι] εις τον της διοικησ[εως] θησ[αυρον] Αμων[ιου] γενη-
 [μαων] θ̄
 Τραιανου του κυριου αθυρ κ̄ του ῑ
 υ[περ] ενεχει[ων] χρονικων οι δυο υιοι Ωρου Εσμινθιου
 δια Ωρου Ποριενθου και αδελφων β̄
 5. Τραιανου του κυριου σι[του] υ[περ] κω[μης] τελ[ους] διοικησ[εως]
 εξ αβροχ[ων] ῑ μιαν ημισυ τριτον / ῑ ᾱ γ̄
 [Α]ρισθ[ων].

“The two sons of Hôros Esminthios have paid into the administration’s treasury of the crops grown on the estate of the

temple of Amon, in the 8th year of Trajan the lord, on the 26th day of Athyr in the 10th year, on account of old arrears, through Hôros son of Porieuthês and his brothers, for the 2nd year of Trajan the lord one and five-sixth ardeb of corn on behalf of the village, the tax due to the administration from the unwatered lands. (Signed) Aristhôn."

Ἐνεχείων χρονικῶν must mean "old arrears," though ἐνεχεία, which is plainly written, is, so far as I know, a new word. I do not understand the mention of "the 2nd year of Trajan"; the numeral, however, is clear. The "unwatered lands" are what is now called *sherâqi*, that is to say, land which is unwatered and therefore uncultivated in a year of low Nile. Under English rule *sherâqi* land does not pay any taxes.

On another of my ostraka "late-paid taxes" is expressed by ἔωλα τέλη. The ostrakon is as follows:

- VI. διεγρ[αψε] Μαρκος Κλωδ[ιος] Αλυρας
 δια Πανου υιου εις αριθ[μον] μηνος
 επειφ[ι] του α) Αυρηλιου Αντο (sic) νιν[ου] και Αυρηλιου
 Ουηρου των κυριων σεβαστων υ[περ] μερισ[μου]
 5. εωλ[ων] τελω[ν] χοιαχ κγς θεου Αντωνινου αργ[υριου]
 ρυ[παρου]) δεκα τεσσαρας / ιδ La Αυρηλιου
 Αντωνινου και Αυρηλιου Ουηρου των κυριων
 σεβαστων επειφ[ι] ι Ωρο[ς] σε[σ]η[μειωμαι] αλ[λως]
 [κ]δ ρυ[παρας]
 10. δραχ[μας] οκτω / < η Ωρο[ς] σε[σ]η[μειωμαι]

"Marcus Clodius Alyras has registered, through the son of Panês, for the month Epeiphi of the 1st year of Aurelius Antoninus and Aurelius Verus the lords, Augusti, on account of the sum of late-paid taxes due in Khoiak the 23rd year of the late Antoninus, 14 drachmæ of dirty silver. The 1st year of Aurelius Antoninus and Aurelius Verus the lords, Augusti, the 10th day of Epeiphi. I Hôros have countersigned. Also on the 24th day 8 drachmæ of dirty silver. I Hôros have countersigned."

In the 8th line μδ (44) seems to have been written by mistake for κδ (24). The date is July 4th, A.D. 161; the taxes ought to have been paid the previous year, while Antoninus Pius was still alive. For μερισμός see Wilcken, *G.O.*, I, pp. 256-8.

I now pass to some Ptolemaic ostraka from Karnak which I have acquired this winter.

VII. ετους δ φαρμου[θι] κθ
 με[μετρικεν] εις τον πηχ[υν] περιστε
 ρωνω[ν] Ωρος Ψενησιος
 χα[λκους] ψ^κ / χ^α ψ^κ
 5. Πετεμι[νις] τ[ραπεζιτης]

"The 4th year, the 28th day of Pharmuthi, Hôros, son of Psenêsis, has paid for the cubit of the pigeon-houses 720 copper drachmæ. Altogether 720 copper drachmæ. (Signed) Peteminis the banker."

Then follows a line of demotic, which seems to read thus :

7 1/2 λ 1 1/2 3

The ostrakon explains Wilcken's No. 1301, which he is unable to interpret, and clears up a passage in the British Museum Papyri (CXIX) which Kenyon calls "obscure." The tax on the pigeon-houses is referred to in an ostrakon belonging to Prof. Keene (Wilcken's No. 1228).

VIII. ετους κγ φαρμουθι λ παραδεδω[κα·ι]
 εις το καθη[κον] αχυ[ρικού] του αυ[του] ετους
 Αρνωθης μεγ[ας] Πτολεμαιου και Αρνωθη[ς]
 μικ[ρος] Πτολεμαιου και οι με[τοχοι] αχυ[ρου]

δ. μωια εξηκοντα / αχυ ξ
 [ει]ς χρειας Ηρω[νος] Πτολεμαιο

οι αυτοι αλλας δεκα / αχυ ι
 εις χαλκους ○

Πτολεμαιο

10. ο Πτολεμαιου Νικομ[ηδ]ου πεντε γο[μους]

Three more obliterated lines.

"The 23rd year, the 30th of Pharmuthi, Aryôthês the greater, the son of Ptolemy, and Aryôthês the less, the son of Ptolemy and their associates, have handed over 60 *môia* of chaff, for the use of Hêrôn. (Signed by) Ptolemy. The same (tax-farmers have handed over) 10 other *môia* of chaff for 60 (?) copper drachmæ. (Signed by) Ptolemy. The son of Ptolemy the son of Nikomêdês (has rendered) 5 loads (of chaff)."

The abbreviation for μικρός is an μ through the middle of which an ι is drawn, a κ being attached to the top of the latter. The "chaff" is really *tibn* or chopped straw, which is still so plentifully

used in Egypt. I have found on other Ptolemaic ostraka the Egyptian measure *μῶια* employed in the place of *γόμοι*. Dr. Wilcken states that *γόμοι* is not found before the Roman age, *ἀγωγαί* being the Ptolemaic term, but the present ostrakon shows that this was not invariably the case. It will be noticed that in line 7 *μῶια* is regarded as feminine. I do not know what is meant by the circle in line 8. According to Brugsch the circle in hieroglyphics denoted one-fourth of the ardeb or 9.92 litres, but here it is used of money and may therefore be the ring which Brugsch states had the Babylonian value of *sushu* and denoted the 60th part of the mina.

IX. ετους θ δυστρον ιγ τε[τακται] επι την
 εν Διοσπ[ολει] τρι[πεζαν] εφ ης Αντιγενης
 εις το εω[λον] εννομιου Αβραμος
 και Διοκλης εκατοσ[τας] δεκα
 5. επτα / χα[λκυ]ου αλ[λαγη] ριζ Αντιγενης
 ρλε

"The 9th year, the 13th day of Dyksos, there has been deposited in the bank of Antigenês at Thebes for the arrears of the tax on pasturage by Abraham and Dioklês 17 Hekatostæ: the exchange amounts to 117 copper drachmæ. (Signed) Antigenês. (Altogether) 735 (copper drachmæ)."

I cannot explain what is meant by "17 Hekatostæ," which in classical Greek denoted an Athenian tax of one per cent. For its use in the papyri see Wilcken *G. O.* I, *l.c.* The word *ἔωλον* is explained by the ostrakon given above. It is interesting to find the Jewish name of Abraham or rather Abram; it will have to be added to the list of Jewish names given by Dr. Wilcken. Dyksos corresponds with the Egyptian month Tybi or January.

X. L ιγ του και ι φαρμου[θι] η τε[τακται]
 επι την εν Διοσπο[λει] τη μεγα[λη] τρα[πεζαν]
 θεμα πρυκ[τορος] ιL Ασκλη
 πιαδης και οι με[τοχοι] ζ[ευγη]
 5. τριακοντα πεντε °ι
 / ζ λε Κεφ[αλων] τρα[πεζιτης]

(After a line of demotic :) ζ μγ.

The first line of the Greek text is preceded by a line of demotic and the last line is also in demotic.

"The 13th year which is also the 10th, the 8th day of Pharmuthi, there has been laid upon the bank in Diospolis the Great,

the place of deposit, by the bailiff of the 10th year, by Asklêpiadês and his partners, 35 pairs of wheaten loaves. (Signed by) Kephalôn the banker. 43 pairs."

This use of *θέμα* is new. The symbol at the end of line 5 must denote wheaten loaves; *ι* by itself signifies "wheat," and *ζεύγη* is generally used of loaves of bread, which will be symbolized by the small circle. It is curious that in the last line 35 is corrected into 43.

The double date, if Dr. Wilcken is right, will refer to the common reign of Cleopatra III and Alexander (Ptolemy XI), and the year meant will be B.C. 104.

XI. L ιγ του και ι παχων η τε[τακται] επι την εν Κρ[οκοδιλωνπολει]
τρα[πεζαν]
απο[μο]ι[ρας] ιγ το[υ] και ι L Κονων Δωρου δισχιλιας
[επτα]κοσιας / β' ψ Δ(?)αρτουεις Τερμαμιν[ιος]

"The 13th year which is also the 10th, the 8th day of Pakhons, there has been deposited in the bank at Krokodilopolis the *apomæra* of the 13th, i.e., the 10th year, by Konôn, son of Dôros, 2,700 drachmæ. (Signed) Dartueis, son of Termaminis."

The date is the same as that of the preceding ostrakon. The *apomæra* was a tax representing the sixth part of the produce of vineyards and gardens. The first letter of the name of Dartueis may be Φ. The initial letter of his father's name is T not Π. The ostrakon was found at Karnak, but the city mentioned in it, denoted by the abbreviation Κρ, must be Krokodilopolis, the modern Gebelên.

I add two ostraka from Elephantinê, one of which was bought there by Prof. Goodwin of Harvard University, the other by my cousin, the Rev. A. B. Sayce :

XII. ετους ις φαωφι ζ̄ διεγρα[ψεν]
επι την εξ Συ[νηνης] τρα[πεζαν] εφ ης Απολλω[νιος]
εις το ιε L Ακραρζμηθις
Πετεαρτνουφ ος οικυδομος
δ. χα[λκου] ου αλλα[γη] δισχιλιας τριακοσιας
τεσσαρικοντα πειτε / β̄ τμε
Ϟ̄ ωιε επαρου[ριον] φπε
χμε Απολλω[νιος] τρα[πεζιτης]

"The 16th year, the 7th day of Phaophi, Akrarzmêthis the son of Peteartnuphis the builder has registered at the bank of Apollônios

in Syene, for the 15th year, a sum the exchange on which amounts to 2,345 copper drachmæ, and which is divided into 815 copper drachmæ, 585 for land tax, and 645 besides. (Signed by) Apollônios the banker."

The difference between the sums charged and the amount actually received by the government was as much as 300 copper drachmæ, being the difference between 2,345 and $(815 + 585 + 645 =) 2,045$.

XIII. διαγεγραφ[ε] Μνασις Ψενχομ
 χημευς υ[περ] λα[ο]γραφ[ιας] πρωτου
 L Τιβεριου Κλαυδιου καισαρος
 σεβαστου Γερμανικου
 5. αυτοκρατορος παοιν[ι] ιϛ
 αργυρ[ιου] δραχμ[ας] οκτω ζ η
 Αμωνιος Αμωνι[ου] εγραψε

"Mnasis of Psenkhomkhêmis has registered on account of the poll-tax for the first year of Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, the emperor, the 16th day of Payni, 8 silver drachmæ. Amônios, the son of Amônios, wrote (this)."

The date is June 10th, A.D. 41.

Dr. Wilcken has left one of the symbols used in the ostraka unexplained. This is ρ. It really represents γρ[αφή] or γρ[αφείς].



EXTRACTS FROM MY NOTEBOOKS (IV).

BY PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

21. STATUE OF A FAN-BEARER OF THE BODY-GUARD OF AMEN-HETEP III. Four or five years ago the Trustees of the British Museum acquired a beautiful statue, in a fine state of preservation, of an official of Amenhetep III, no account of which has yet been published. The statuette is of grey granite and represents a



body-guard of Amen-hetep III," named *Ka-mes*. He is

figured squatting upon a small slab with his elbows resting upon his knees; the hands are crossed, the right grasps a lotus flower, the left lays flat upon the right arm. He wears a curled wig reaching to the shoulders, and a tight-fitting garment (from which only the hands protrude) clothes the whole figure from neck to ankles. Beneath the statue is a narrow pedestal, and at the back the figure is supported by a plinth inscribed with a vertical line of hieroglyphs.

Upon the right shoulder is tattooed the prenomen of Amenhetep III, and upon the garment down the front of the legs is an inscription in five horizontal lines reading:—

1.

2.

3.

4.

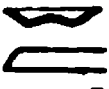
5.
















(1 and 2) *Te hetep seten* to Min of Koptos and Isis, the divine mother, that they may give *per-Kheru* offerings, etc., for the *ka* of (3) "the attendant of the king upon the water, upon the land, and in every foreign country, the fan-bearer of the body-guard of Amen-hetep III, (4) the dewy Aten, Kames, son of the greatly loved courtier, the ambassador, (5) the seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, great in the royal domain, Máÿ, born of the Lady Ta-khât."

Upon the plinth at the back of the figure the inscription reads:—

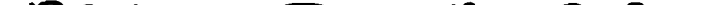


"The fan-bearer of the body-guard of Amen-hetep III, the dewy Aten, Kames, son of the Chief of the bowmen, Máÿ."



22. THE SITE OF THE LIBRARY OF AKHENATEN. In 1893 Prof. Flinders Petrie discussed * all the evidence then known regarding the site of the great find of Tell el-Amarna cuneiform tablets, and he arrived at the conclusion that they were discovered in a building to the east of the royal palace, which he has marked No. 19 on his plan of the heretic city (*Tell el-Amarna*, Plate XXXV). One piece of evidence,† however, was not then forthcoming, and as it is conclusive on the point, it is perhaps worth while extracting from my notebook. In January, 1895, when travelling up the Nile, I examined the building marked No. 19 on Prof. Petrie's plan, and found that all the bricks were stamped with the following inscription:               


in antiquities, the base of a bronze figure of Ptah, inscribed with the name and titles of an *uab*-priest of Astarte of Northern Diospolis. The inscription is somewhat mutilated, but three names occur in it, and these the dealer kindly permitted me to copy. They are :—

I. 

“The *uab*-priest of Astarte within Northern Uas, Pa-se.”

2. 

"His mother Ne-atheta-yuset."

3. 
sic

"The *uab*-priest of Astarte, De-su-zero."



This interesting bronze base dates from the XXVIth Dynasty.

24. SOME EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE DATTARI COLLECTION, CAIRO. During a short stay in Cairo on my way to Upper Egypt this Autumn (1900), I visited Signor Dattari's splendid collection of Egyptian antiquities. Besides an unique series of Greek and Roman coins, he possesses a remarkable number of beautiful specimens of Egyptian art, but his inscribed objects are not numerous. Of some dozen or more inscriptions that I copied, the following three are perhaps worthy of extracting from my notebook.

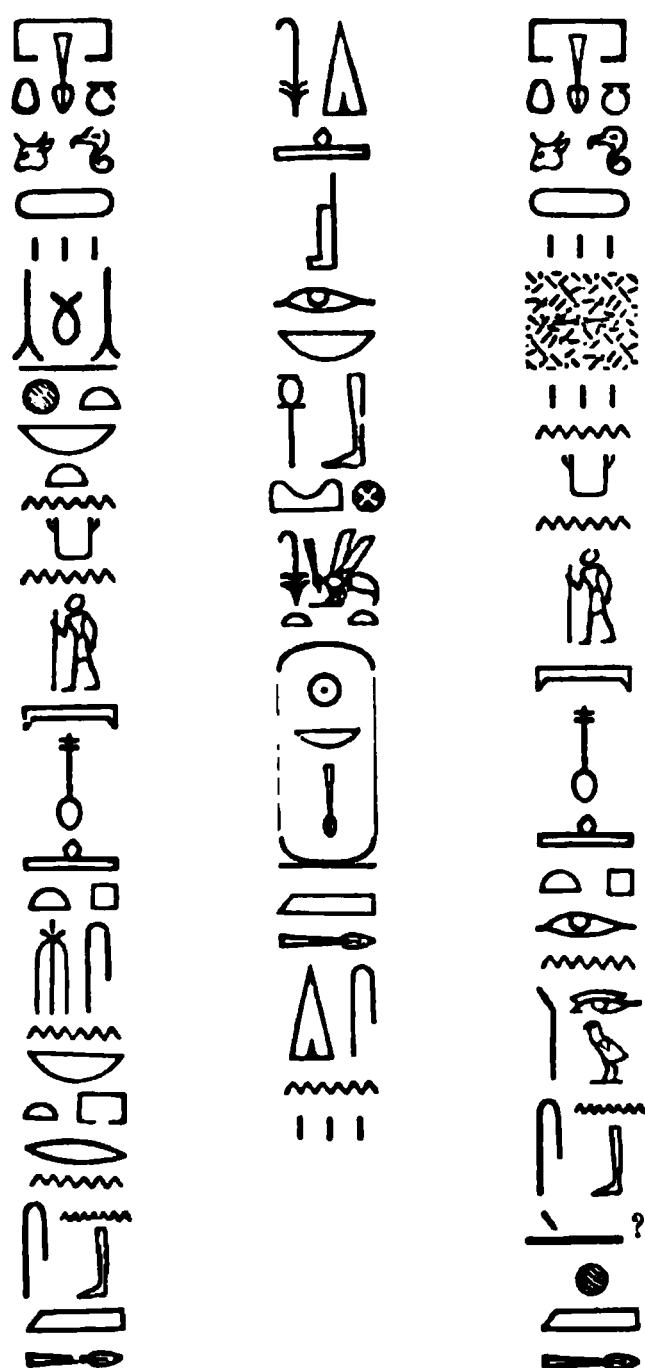
(a) *A Ring-stand of Sebek-hetep III.* This ring-stand for a vase is of blue glaze and about 5 inches in diameter. Running round the outside of it is painted in black the cartouche of Sebek-hetep III :—



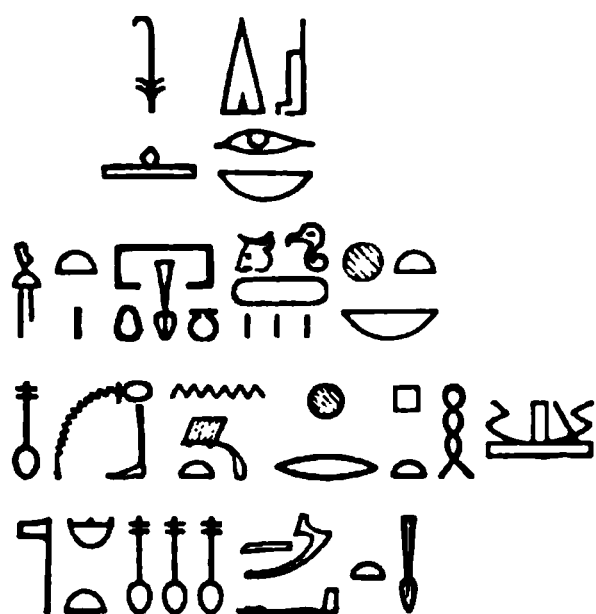
A similar ring-stand in blue glaze is, if I remember rightly, in the Myers collection, now at Eton.

(b) *A late Middle-Kingdom Statuette.* This is of grey granite, about two feet in height, and represents a  *ser hayt*, named , Nefer-hetep. He is shown seated upon a chair, his hands are laid flat upon the thighs, and he wears a long garment covering the body from immediately below the chest to the ankles. Down the centre of the garment and on the front of the chair on either

side of the figure's legs, are vertical lines of hieroglyphs, giving the *Te hetep seten* formula to Osiris, Lord of Abydos, and to King Mentuhetep, that they may give *perkheru* offerings for the *ka* of Neferhetep, son of Resu-senb, by the lady Ren-senb. These three vertical lines read :—



(c) *Pedestal of a wooden Statuette of the Divine wife Neferu.* Only the upper surface of this wooden pedestal is inscribed, and the inscription reads :—




This divine wife Neferu may certainly be identified with the Queen Neferu, whose tomb is beneath the first terrace of the temple at Der-ê-Bahari.

25. HANDLE OF A MODEL DAGGER (?), AND A PLAQUE INSCRIBED WITH THE NAME OF BAK-EN-KHENSU. In the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney, at Diddington Hall, there is a fragment of a handle of a model dagger from Kurneh, inscribed with

the name of the famous , "High Priest of Amen,"

, Bak-en-Khensu, whose statue is one of the

most interesting monuments in the Glyptothek Museum at Munich. The handle is of cedar wood, with a vertical line of hieroglyphs running along its upper and lower surfaces (*see* fig. 1). The hieroglyphs are delicately cut in the wood and filled in with a white paste imitating ivory inlay. On one surface the text records certain of the virtues of Bak-en-Khensu, on the other it gives his name and titles. The blue glaze plaque, figured with the model dagger handle, is in Mr. Chauncey Murch's collection. For other monuments and a biography of this famous priest, see my account of him in Benson and Gourlay's volume on *The Temple of Mut*, pp. 343-347.

26. KHNEMS, VEZÎR OF SEKHEM-KA-RA. A papyrus dated in the third year of Sekhem-ka-Ra, found by Prof. Petrie at Kahun (*K.P.* I, Pl. IX, 1), and a stela* published by Brugsch Pasha (*Thesaurus*, 1455), are the only two monuments hitherto known of this king. I can now add to these a third, the lower part of a statuette of his Vezîr Khnems, which I purchased in Cairo last winter. This statuette, which represented the Vezîr squatting upon the ground, is of black granite, and was about a foot or fourteen inches high, but the head and shoulders are unfortunately lost. On the front of the legs are four horizontal lines of hieroglyphs giving the 

formula to , "Sebek-Ra, Lord of Sumenu," for the

* This stela was copied by Brugsch at Alexandria: it was then removed to Cairo, where I saw it (and re-copied it) in the garden of Tigrane Pasha a few years ago.

Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., May, 1901.

P.EN.

HANDLE OF A MODEL DAGGER (?).
(In the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney.)



BLUE GLAZE PLAQUE.
(In the collection of Mr. Chauncey Murch.)

From the style of the cutting of the hieroglyphs, I should be inclined to place this Vezîr in the second half of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and from the fact that the name of the god [Amen?] has been erased, it is certainly pre-Akhenaten in date. Senîy seems, therefore, to belong to the period between the end of the reign of Amenhetep II and the beginning of that of Amenhetep IV. He was probably Governor of Memphis and Vezîr of Lower Egypt.



PASHT AND THE SED FESTIVAL.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie has found at Abydos some very early references to the Sed Festival, and has published the information in his *Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, 1900. He speaks of the "undoubtedly astronomical origin" of the festival, and its marking "the shift of the movable calendar one week every thirty years, and one month every 120 years at the Great Sed Festival": and he refers us to his *History*, II, 32.

On looking into the *History*, Vol. II. (Brit. Mus. copy, 1896), I see that Prof. Petrie does point out and prove the astronomical reference of the *Sed*, as a festival occurring regularly at periods of thirty years, and not in the thirtieth year of a king's reign; but his object is to show the true chronology of certain reigns, and he says nothing about a Great Sed Festival in the 120th year. He would probably repudiate the idea of an intercalated month, and he makes no reference to the goddess Pasht. In the later edition of his second volume (1899) I find no difference in these respects.

Meantime, in my *Creation Records*, published in May, 1898, I had given reasons for believing in a Great Sed Festival, in the 120th year, of which the thirty years' festival was a subordinate division; I maintained that Pasht was the goddess of that festival and must not be confounded with Sekhet; and I argued that the Great Sed Festival was an *intercalary month* in the 120th year. Unlikely as these things may appear, in the face of such a fact as the heliacal rising of Sirius sometimes in other months, and not always in that of Thoth, I beg that they may not be summarily rejected.

As to the 120-year period, I do not claim originality, Dr. Hincks, in his *Years and Months of the Egyptians*, p. 18, quotes the Turin MS. as affording an instance of the use of such a period in Egypt. And with regard to its intent, Sir P. Le Page Renouf, in the *Proceedings of the Society* (XIV, 5, p. 264), referring to the Persian period of 120 years, speaks as follows:—"The Persians would not intercalate a day into any of the months, for fear of disturbing the order of their festivals and of their lucky and unlucky days; so they waited until they could intercalate an entire month, and then the year was once more brought into harmony with the course of

nature." He adds—"Did the Egyptian secular period *henti* of 120 years serve such a purpose? We have no evidence, one way or the other, but the supposition is not without its intrinsic probability, and all chronological computations which leave it out of consideration are necessarily imperfect."

I have to meet the objection that the Sothic Cycle was in use—precluding intercalations—the proof being that we have historical records of the heliacal rising of Sirius in the months of Epiphi and Pharmuthi; for example, it happened on the 28th day of Epiphi sometime in the reign of Thothmes III. This seems to show that an extra month was not regularly inserted every 120th year, for then the heliacal rising of Sirius should never get beyond the 30th day of the month Thoth. It is, however, exceedingly unlikely that the Egyptians would use a year of 365 days without correction, and put up for ever with the resulting inconveniences to agriculture and daily business. On this point Maspero says (*Dawn of Civilization*, Eng. transl., p. 209): "The difficulty which this caused in public life, increased with time, and ended by disturbing the harmony between the order of the calendar and that of natural phenomena." He regards the Sothic Cycle as an invention of the astronomers of the Græco-Roman period, and thinks it was unknown to the Egyptians of Pharaonic times. "The Egyptian year might be compared to a watch which loses a definite number of minutes daily. The owner does not take the trouble to calculate a cycle in which the total of minutes lost will bring the watch round to the correct time: he bears with the irregularity as long as his affairs do not suffer by it; but when it causes him inconvenience, he alters the hands to the right hour, and repeats this operation each time he finds it necessary, without being guided by a fixed rule. In like manner the Egyptian year fell into hopeless confusion with regard to the seasons, the discrepancy continually increasing, until the difference was so great that the king or the priests had to adjust the two by a process similar to that employed in the case of the watch." Regarding the cry for reform, Maspero, in the *Proceedings* of our Society, XII, pp. 303, 410—*Notes au jour le jour*—tells us that the *Anastasi Papyrus* has preserved the complaint of an Egyptian of the time of Menephtah or of Seti II. The prayer may be rendered:—"Come to me, Amen, deliver me from the vexatious year, in which the god Shu rises no more, in which the winter comes where was the summer, the months leave their place, the hours are confused; in

which the great call on thee, O Amen, and the small seek thee, even those still in their nurses arms, (cry) Give breath." The complaint or supplication avers that the Egyptian season Pirit (Seed-time) had come to the position of the season Shomon (Harvest), and this would be a difference of four months. There was a complete supplanting of one season by another. As the displacement of the months involved the displacement of the hours consecrated to the cult of certain divinities, Maspero thinks that the cry for calendar reform would be listened to by the king and his counsellors, and the calendar would be put right, at irregular intervals. The decree of Canopus is a late instance; and there had probably been earlier ones. I may add that as the decree of Canopus, dated in the ninth year of Ptolemy III (B.C. 238) did not prevent the recognition of A.D. 139 as the conclusion of a Sothic Cycle, so the earlier recognition of the cycle need not have prevented earlier reforms of the calendar. If Maspero is right, and one Egyptian season had completely supplanted another, the date must be at least 480 years removed from 1322 B.C., when a new Sothic Cycle began; unless the cycle were working irregularly. But the date he favours for the prayer is the second year of Seti II, which must have been quite near to that era. It would seem that either Maspero is wrong, and the prayer contemplates the early beginnings of error, not the consummation; or else there had been intercalations of a partial character.

My own studies lead me to think that the law and the intention may probably have been to intercalate a month in the 120th year—that this was the Great Sed Festival, that the celebration would extend over thirty days, and that Pasht was the presiding divinity. But in practice the festival would be often passed over, forgotten because 120 years was a long interval, or neglected because its observance would seem inconvenient. Yet continuous neglect would bring still greater inconveniences, and then the rectification would be made.

On this supposition several anomalies would admit of explanation. For example, Naville, in his memoir on the *Festival Hall of Osorken II in the Great Temple of Bubastis*, finds it hard to understand the Sed periods of twelve years each, spoken of in the inscriptions. But on the supposition that the Sothic Cycle had been suffered to run on for an entire quarter of the Great Year without intercalation, a series of five months inserted at intervals of twelve years, would bring the calendar right. Another line of the

inscription, says Naville, "speaks of something which lasts from 26th of Khoiak to 26th of Pakhons, which would make four months (120 days)." If he really means 120 days, this is the measure of an Egyptian season of four months; and the intercalation of four months would exactly rectify the anomaly which Maspero finds to be the subject of prayer in the *Anastasi Papyrus*. Again, on a fragment of papyrus brought to Berlin last year, Borchardt found a reference to the heliacal rising of Sothis—on the sixteenth day of the fourth month of winter in the seventh year—and deduces the date B.C. 1676–2 (see Egypt. Explor. Fund, *Archæological Report*, 1899–1900, p. 22). In our *Proceedings*, Vol. XXII, part 9, Prof. J. Lieblein gives the date 1882 B.C., but disputes it. Borchardt thinks he has reason to assign the papyrus (and "the seventh year") to the reign of Usertesen III, and Lieblein holds that Usertesen III was as early as 2128 B.C., and probably earlier. Assuming that Borchardt is right about the date of the papyrus, the difference is 246 years at least. Such a discrepancy might be caused by the observance of two or three intercalary months, and their neglect at other times*.

But what of Pasht? We must clearly distinguish between Pasht and Sekhet. When Ptah, Sekhet and Pasht are put before us as the Memphite triad (*Records of the Past*, VI, p. 137 note), it is recognised that they are in some way different. A cat's head is not a lion's head. Yet there is, somehow, a close connection between the two goddesses, and my theory would account for it. I believe Sekhet to be associated with the summer solstice in Leo; and I suppose Pasht to be a supplementary month, a second Leo, intended to be intercalated by the side of the first, to obviate the inconveniences of the Sothic cycle. The festival in the 120th year would be the Great Sed, to which the celebrations in the 30th, 60th and 90th years were subordinate. This was the Great Cat sometimes spoken of in the Ritual (chap. xvii), and those were the kittens by comparison. In the cemetery of cats at *Tel Basta*, bronze objects are sometimes found among the bones; and one of these, representing the cat-headed goddess and four kittens, is now in the British Museum. It was presented by the Egypt Exploration Fund, in 1894.

Naville says that the festival which Osorkon celebrated at Bubastis was in honour of Amon, not Bast. But he remarks that Bast was there; we find repeatedly that she is before Osorkon in the ceremonies; and he offers to her the clepsydra, which must have

* This matter is discussed by Orlando P. Schmidt in *Biblia*, March, 1900.

reference to the measurement of time. In one place Naville says, "All the emblems which we see here are connected with astronomy or with the measurement of time" (p. 22). "The offering of the clepsydra [to Pasht] is one of the most frequent in these inscriptions: it certainly had some reference to the astronomical meaning of the festival and to its coincidence with a date of the calendar."

In support of my idea that it was the office of Pasht to gather up the six-hour fragments, till four of them made a day, and 120 of them a month—as Renouf says was done in Persia—I may remark that the numbers six and four are prominent in the symbolism which Naville describes. For example, there are six poles, which have a mystical sense—the holy six, "the holy circle of Bast." Naville is led to ask, "What has Bast to do with the number six? and how does this number constitute her circle or her orbit?" Then also the king offers the clepsydra to Bast (as though inviting her to rectify time), and she promises him Sed periods or festivals of twelve years each. This, says Naville, "at present cannot be explained satisfactorily." But I suggest that it would be explained if we take it to mean festivals twelve years apart—more frequent intercalations, because in the past some had been omitted. "He gives thee Sed periods of twelve years each," means most naturally twelve years apart instead of 30 or 120. That 'He' gives, rather than *she*, may be explained by chap. xvii of the Ritual, which says that the Great Cat is Ra himself.

As I ought not to prolong this letter, I will only add that in the Greek pantheon Artemis corresponds to Pasht, as Herodotus was informed in Egypt, and it was the neglect of the festival of Artemis which caused all the confusion set forth mythically as the depredations of the Boar of Calydon. That the feast of Artemis was an intercalary month, intended to be inserted in the 120th year, but sometimes neglected, I have endeavoured to show in my *Myths of Greece*, just now published.

I think it ought to be recognised that Pasht and Sekhet are intimately connected with astronomy and the measurement of time. And then we can hardly escape the conclusion that the whole pantheon are likely to be more or less astronomical.

I remain,

Yours very truly,

GEORGE ST. CLAIR.

THE WADI HALFA STELA OF SENWOSRET I.*

BY JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

Very little is known regarding the beginning of the XIIth dynasty conquest of Nubia, and the most important monument relating to it has never been completely published. It is a fine stela, erected in the sanctuary of the northernmost of the two temples on the west shore opposite Wadi Halfa village, at the second cataract of the Nile by Senwosret (Useratesen) I. First noticed by Ricci, it was taken out by Champollion and Rosellini in 1829, who failed to perceive that they had left the lower end *in situ* under the sand. This upper portion has been in Florence† for many years, but has never been completely published.‡ In 1895, some sixty years after the removal of the *upper* portion, the *lower* portion was found and taken out by Captain Lyons, and it is now in Florence, having been rejoined to the upper fragment after this long interval. The lower fragment has never been published at all. I photographed both fragments in the autumn of 1899, and the accompanying reproductions (Plates I–II), including the sketch (Plate III), are made from these photographs. I have since revised the sketch before the original, repeatedly giving the doubtful passages a long and careful scrutiny in varying lights. It is incidentally an interesting evidence of the effectiveness of a photograph, even of a badly weathered inscription, that an examination of the original itself added only two important new readings. The photographs are unfortunately taken from a position not directly

* Sethe has shown that the real form of Useratesen is Senwosret, being the name from which Sesostris has been corrupted. (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Alterthumskunde Aegyptens*, Vol. II, fasc. 1, Leipzig, 1900.)

† No. 1542.

‡ The publications will be found in: Ros., *Mon. stor.*, XXV, 4; Champ., *Mon.*, I, 1; Cham., *Not. descr.*, I, 34–36, II, 692 f; Schiap., *Cat.*, I, 243–246; Berend., *Mon. du Musée Eg. de Florence*, 51–52; Brugsch, *Thes.*, 1444 f.

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PLATE I.

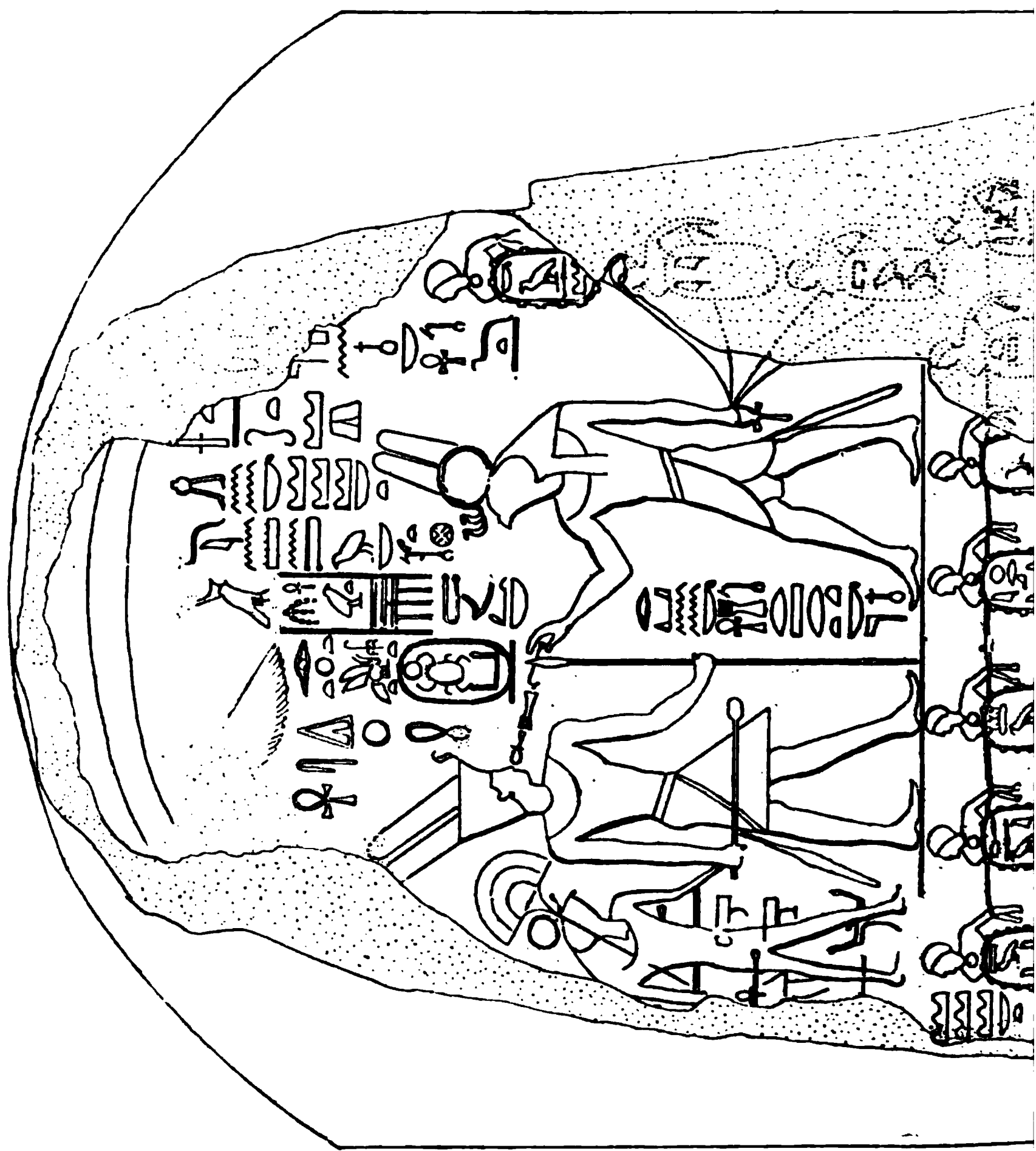
UPPER FRAGMENT OF WADI HALFA STELA OF SENWOSRET I ;
REMOVED IN 1829.

Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., May, 1901.

PLATE II.

**LOWER FRAGMENT OF WADI HALFA STELA OF SENWOSRET I;
REMOVED IN 1895.**

PLATE III.





THE TRIUMPHANT STELA OF SENWOSRET I (SESOSTRIS) AT WADI HALFA
(Florence, No. 1542).

before the centre, but a little to the right (owing to an interfering case), hence they are a trifle foreshortened. The present limits of the stone itself unfortunately do not mark the limits of the preserved text, but a considerable portion of the surface (dotted shading) has so weathered, that outside of the limits indicated, it is hopeless to attempt to find any traces of text. Even within these limits there is much so badly weathered as to make it a matter of long and repeated scrutiny before the lines will yield their secrets. I think the sketch will be found to offer about all that the fast vanishing sandstone surface has transmitted to us. The question of how much has been lost and the original size of the stela can best be discussed further on.

It is not intended here so much to *discuss* as to *determine* the contents of this important monument, which contains not merely the record of great conquests, but also evidences of a catastrophe in a personal career, of the greatest interest. Above we have the *earliest* example of a class of reliefs later so common in the new kingdom: a god presenting the king with the conquered towns. At the left stands Senwosret I before Monthu on the right, receiving the conventional symbols, presented by the god in accordance with the words (immediately before him): "I have given to thee life, stability, satisfaction at thy nostrils, O Good God." But above the god is an inscription of more importance: "I have brought for thee all countries that are in Nubia (*T'-hnt*) beneath thy sandals,* O Good God, Lord of life and satisfaction for ever." Suiting these words, the god leads and presents to the king ten towns, symbolized as so commonly in the new kingdom, by the usual oval fortress containing the name of the town, and surmounted by a bound captive. Of these ten towns, only six are now visible on the stone, but the traces of a sixth fortress beyond the five in the lower line, another captive's head under the uppermost town, and the extra cords in the god's hand, show clearly that others once existed, now lost on a large flake that has fallen off at the right. Ricci, whose sketch†

* The surface containing these two words has now flaked off, and they are lost. They are now to be found only in Champ., *Mon.*, I, 1.


† This sketch is now in the hands of Mr. Seymour De Ricci, who was kind enough to show it to me. It is very inaccurate, and of no assistance in determining the order and arrangement of the names now lost, for the first one at the top (still preserved) is placed *second* (!) in Ricci's sketch. The *form* of the names now lost is probably far from accurate also, to judge from a comparison between Ricci's sketch and the surviving names.

Champollion reproduces exactly, is the only one who copied them,* so that the flake was early lost. I have dotted in the last four towns as suggested by the cords and the traces of the two still visible. At the left end of the horizontal line are the remains of an inscription referring to the conquered countries. A study of these is reserved for the future.

Below the towns is an inscription of the king in seven horizontal lines, of which l. 5 is lost in the crack between the two fragments ; all the others having likewise lost from a third to one-half of their length. Unfortunately this portion of the inscription, like the similar later record of Senwosret III at Semneh, does not contain a sober record of the campaign, but merely the conventional series of highly coloured epithets describing the king's prowess, like : "(l. 1) the hawk seizing in an instant ;† (l. 2) [light of] the eyes, star of the south, illuminating the two lands ; white bull, who tramples‡ the Troglodytes ; he smites the § (l. 6) Horus in the Palace as a youth ; (when) he arrives|| before (l. 7) . . . his name ; great in fame by that which has happened through him ; shining as lord of , &c." The epithet, "star of the south," is unique. Thutmose III in his great hymn of victory (l. 15) is called a "circling star scattering flame" by Amon, but the king as son of Re is of course usually likened to the sun.

The inscription of the general who erected the stela is the one to which we must turn for a real account of the campaign. It was entirely unknown until the recovery of the lower fragment by Capt. Lyons, as it occupies the lower portion of the stela in 17 vertical lines, being a much longer inscription than that devoted to the king himself. The longest of these lines (10 and 11) have not preserved more than two-thirds of their length, and the others much less, except ll. 22-24, which are complete (see below). The first four

* Champ., *Mon.*, I, 1 ; and *Not. descr.*, II, 693, the later publications all give only six towns, and make no reference to Champollion's material.

† The determinative at the end of l. 1 is .







‡ The verbal adjective, *ḥtpt . ti . f*, see Sethe, *Verbum* II, § 974.


§ I do not understand the remnants of ll. 3-4. In l. 4, perhaps render : "smiting multitudes, slaying Nubia as [one?] man," but the grammatical difficulties are obvious.

Read *spr . f*.

(ll. 8-11)* contain the nobleman's titles, which are those usual with the nomarch of the period, except the last two, "overseer of recruits, general (*mr-ms'w*)". Then follows a narrative of the campaign (ll. 12-24), as follows:† (l. 12) "King Senwosret I appointed me (to lead an expedition against Nubia) (l. 13). In the year 18, in the first month of the second season, on the 8th day, un[der the majesty of] ‡ (l. 14) the far striding,§ King Senwosret I (the enemy was defeated), || (l. 16) their life is finished,¶ slain (l. 17) fire in the tents (l. 18) their grain cast to** the Nile (the general) (l. 19) treading the way, †† not transgressing (l. 20) a man by the strength of his *ka*, by (l. 21) lord of eternity, Son of Re, Senwosret (l. 22). I myself swear that this happened in (l. 23) very ‡‡ truth. I, the general (l. 24) Amu's (*'mw*), son, Monthuhetep"§§

* At the bottom of l. 10 read: .

Of *s-mnh*, I could discern parts of , of  and . We should expect also the  after . The title is common enough, and means: "who pursues the way of him who favours him" (*i.e.*, of the king), signifying, who zealously follows and obeys the king. It has been thought by Maspero and others to refer to the actual making of a road, because sometimes used in inscriptions occurring in distant regions like Wadi Gasus on the Red Sea. That the meaning I have given is the real one, is clearly shown by a passage on the Statue of Hepu-Seneb at Bologna (No. 1822), where he says, .




 "I zealously pursued that which he (the king) commanded me" (lit., "that which he put before me," common idiom for "command." (Back of throne ll. 5-6.)

† I put in parentheses what was probably the connection between the fragments, without of course attempting to restore the lost words. The certain restorations are in brackets.

‡ Here follow epithets of the king which continue into l. 14, and terminate with his name there.

§ Read *wsb* of course before *nmll*; the fragmentary sign is the *wsb*-necklace.

|| I can make nothing out of line 15.

¶ This is very uncertain, depending on the reading   in which  is reversed. *Km* means to be complete, finished.




** Or should we read: "which the Nile created"?

†† See above note on this phrase.

‡‡ It would be impossible to read  at all, except after observing that the context demands it; it can then be faintly discerned. The same is true of

 in  (l. 22).

§§ It is of course possible to read: "Amu, son of Monthuhetep," but the arrangement given is well known in the XIIth dynasty.

Unluckily the lines containing the real story of the campaign (ll. 15-18) are among the shortest in the inscription, and one can only discern details of a campaign in Nubia extending, as the list of towns shows, as far as Kummeh and Semneh, above the second cataract, being the earliest campaign known as far south as this. These details were evidently similar to those narrated by Senwosret III on the Semneh stela at Berlin. It is a pity that they are not more fully preserved; for this campaign, which subjugated *all* the Nubian territory subsequently held by the XIIth dynasty, was the foundation for at least *one*, and the occasion for the attribution of *many* such great achievements to the Sesostris (Senwosret) of the Greeks. At the left of this text is the top of a head, of course belonging to Monthuhotep's figure. Completing this figure on the scale indicated by the head, shows us as stated above that the longest lines have lost at least one-third of their length, and the question arises whether this portion of the inscription is not still buried in the temple! This is not the only place where Monthuhotep's figure appeared on the stela. In the relief on the upper fragment, there appears behind the king, the figure of a hawk-headed deity. It is very rudely done, and, as a glance at the photograph will show, is totally different in execution from the other figures. Directly through the head runs the handle of a fan, forcing the sculptor to throw the god's sun-disk much too far back, and to stretch out the uræus much too far from the disk. The presence of the fan suggested a closer examination, and searching scrutiny disclosed behind the god the front point of an apron, the calf of a leg and the end of a baton. Cut across the baton is the  held by the god, and across his leg is the line upon which the ownerless leg was planted. Across the god's figure are also the symbols frequently appearing behind a king,   &c.* Of course the ownerless leg belonged to Monthuhotep, who stood here holding a fan over the king. The substitution of the god's figure may have been due to the fact that Monthuhotep has made himself unduly prominent on this stela, his inscription occupying over twice as much space as that of the king; or it may have been due to an occurrence very common in Egyptian history, viz., that he fell into disfavour, and was degraded.

* No traces of any of these things appear in any of the publications.

The original form of the stela is clearly indicated by the curved band representing the heavens at the top. This also shows the uppermost limit, while the figure of Monthuhotep of which part of the head is preserved on the lower fragment, shows the lowermost limit. Completing the figure on the same proportion, we should add about an inch below the dotted line in our sketch. The full width is nearly entirely preserved on the lower fragment. At present the fragments measure 75 inches in height, by 41 in width. The additions would make the stela originally about 84 inches (or 7 feet) in height by about 43 inches in width. As our computation is necessarily a rough one, it was therefore doubtless exactly 4 cubits high and 2 cubits wide. I have restored this original outline in the sketch except at the bottom.





I am indebted to the kindness of Sig. Milani, Director of the Florence Collection, for the permission to publish this stela; also to Sig. Pellegrini, who, although having received the authorisation to publish it before I saw it, kindly waived his right in my favour.



VARIA.

By PROF. JAMES H. BREASTED.

I.—SUPPLEMENTARY.

Referring again to the reference* to the cliff tomb of Thutmose I, I regret that, as I was working away from home and without my notes, I was dependent upon memory, and therefore omitted the best two examples for the meaning of  as "cliff-tomb." Ahmose, son of Ebana, closes his long inscription at Elkab with the statement that he was buried in a  † which he had made (L., *D.*, III, 12); and Khnumhotep of Benihasan, in the long inscription (l. 171), calls his cliff-tomb a . There is therefore no doubt that the  of Inni's inscription is the cliff-tomb of Thutmose I.

In referring the *hrt* of Hepuseneb's inscription to Thutmose I (p. 94), whereas Thutmose II is the king mentioned in the inscription, I should have explained that I did so because Thutmose I and II are so often associated in the insertions over Hatshepsut's name, and Hatshepsut's is surely, in some places, the original name on the Hepuseneb statue. It therefore seemed probable that this cliff-tomb was the same as that of Inni, and belonged to Thutmose I. If Hatshepsut's name, however, originally belongs in this passage, then the cliff-tomb mentioned by Hepuseneb belongs to her, and we have yet to find it in the Valley of the Kings' Tombs. An examination of the original inscription would doubtless settle the question.


The "Northampton Stela" just published by Spiegelberg (Rec., XXII) shows that Thuti and not Hepuseneb was probably the architect of the ebony shrine, unless both are referring to the



* *P.S.B.A.*, March, 1900, pp. 90-94.

† That is, the tomb containing the inscription, which is a cliff-tomb.


same monument. I do not quite understand Spiegelberg's remark that the "Northampton Stela" confirms Naville's contentions as against those of Sethe. Naville maintains that the name of Thutmose II on the ebony shrine is original; whereas the "Northampton Stela" shows, as Spiegelberg notices, that it was built by Hatshepsut's order. Now this is exactly what Sethe has maintained, viz., that the shrine belonged to Hatshepsut, and was usurped by Thutmose II who inserted his name* over that of the queen.†


II.—THREE OBSCURE PHRASES.

1. In the remarkable inscription on the Berlin statue of Senmut occurs the following obscure phrase:‡  *arn[à] m kt àbà*. I had rendered this doubtfully as: "I did (it) according to the thought (*kat*) of my heart." I then noticed the same phrase in Hatshepsut's Speos Artemidos inscription:§

 *arnà nen m kat àbà* = "I did this according to the thought of my heart," referring to the queen's restoration of the temples which had fallen to ruin during the Hyksos domination. Finally, another example confirmed the rendering of  as *kat*, "thought"; and also that of *m* as "according to."



It occurs over a vessel among the offerings to Amon made by Thutmose III in the offering scene depicted on the wall of the Annals at Karnak:¶

 *āat ārn hen-f m ka-t āb-f zs-f* = "(Of) costly stone, which his majesty made according to the design of his own heart," evidently meaning that the king himself designed the vessel.


2. The word  "to make" is already notorious for its many meanings, but there is still another very interesting meaning which has heretofore escaped notice, and is I think found only in the Old

* The name of Thutmose I is also once inserted.

† Possibly Spiegelberg is referring only to the question of the obelisks.

‡ L., D., III, 25 i, where  is to be corrected to ; I have collated the original.

§ Rec., VI., Plate, II. 35-36.

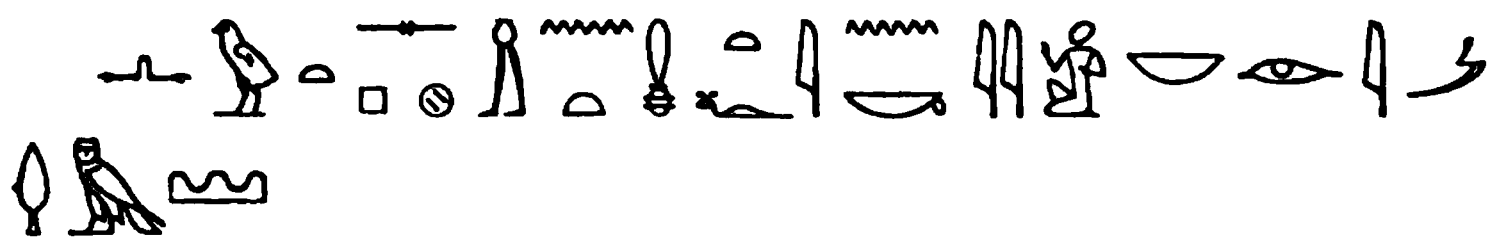
¶ The enigmatical  after *n* is doubtless a hole in the stone.

¶ Brugsch, *Thes.*, 1187.

Kingdom. The description of the well known quarrying operations of Uni at the first cataract contains the following obscure passage (ll. 41-42):



n sep pat art[u] abhat abu = "Never were Ibhet and Elephantine done (with only one war vessel, in the time of any king)." "Done" or "made" has here usually been interpreted to mean "worked," referring to the quarries. This interpretation will not suit the following example, occurring in the royal letter to Hirkhuf (ll. 8-9),* who boasts :



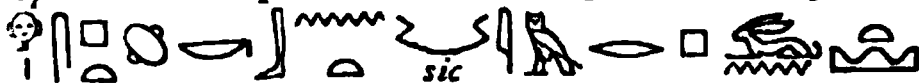
"Never was brought the like of it by any other who *did* Imem" (*Y'm*). Finally, the occurrence of the same usage in the tomb of Khuit at Assuan makes the meaning clear :



* Erman's doubts as to the text (A.Z., 1893, p. 67) were based on a photograph. The Berlin squeezes, which I have repeatedly collated, render the text perfectly certain, as given above.




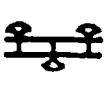
† Morgan, Catalogue de Mon., I, p. 157. The text occupies a peculiar position over a line of officials ; the signs are irregularly arranged, and in places are confused with the names, titles, &c., accompanying these officials (see note on *sp't* below). It has been badly copied, and I hope some one may take occasion to re-copy it when in Assuan.

‡ Very uncertain.


§ Directly under and confused with this portion of the text is an inscription belonging to the procession, with the words *shp't sp't* ("bringing of the choice joints") ; it is therefore quite possible that de Morgan's copyists have left out *sp't* because of the contiguous nearly homophonous words, confused with it. *Sp't* is made probable by the phrase in Pepinakht (Morgan, Cat., I, 174-176) :  (collated with Berlin squeeze l. 12), "building a ship there for Punt." *Sp* occurs in Uni (l. 44) with the same meaning ; Maspero, commenting on the Uni passage (P.S.B.A., XI, p. 316) says

"I went forth with my lord the prince and assistant treasurer* Thethy when my lord (?) [was building?] a ship for Punt—† times. I was brought back in safety (after) I had done those countries."

👁 "to do" may therefore take the name of a country as a direct object, with the meaning "to visit." It is curiously paralleled by the modern globe-trotter's colloquialism "to do a country or a city."

3. The phrase   *ua-r* is not uncommon, but is rarely rendered alike by any two scholars, and the greatest uncertainty seems to prevail regarding its meaning. The meaning of the simple verb   *ua* like its Coptic descendent $\text{O}\Upsilon\text{E}:\text{O}\Upsilon\text{EI}, \text{O}\Upsilon\text{H}\Upsilon:\text{O}\Upsilon\text{HO}\Upsilon$ is "to be distant"; one would conclude therefore that *r* in *ua-r* is the usual preposition of separation as also in Coptic (E-), but such is not usually the case, as the following examples will show. *Ua r*, on the contrary, means:

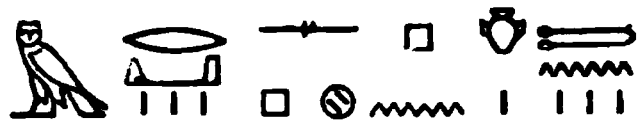
(a) before an *infinitive*, "to be about to, or begin to";

it there means "to sail," affirming that it often occurs in the pyramid texts with this meaning. This is an error. *Sp* means "to build" (a ship), and this meaning is proven by its occurrence over Mastaba scenes of boat building, especially of binding reed boats (e.g. L., D., II, 106 a). It has the same meaning in the pyramids, e.g. (Merenre, Brugsch, *A.Z.* 1881, Pl. IV, a, ll. 5-6): Thou appearest on the bow of thy ship of 770 [cubits (omitted by Brugsch)], which the gods of Re built (*sp*) for thee." Again "They have built (*sp*) the two *shn-wi* of Re in which Re goes to his horizon, and they have built (*sp*) the two *shn-wi* of Merenre in which he goes to his horizon" (*ibid.*, ll. 1-2). This is incidentally a clear indication that the two mysterious *shn-wi* are some sort of craft built by the same process as Uni's cargo boat. The meaning "sail," offered by Maspero for the Uni passage, does not occur (moreover, he has read the possessive suffix -s of the preceding word as the first letter of *sp't*; the correct text has two s's). *Sp* is a III  root. (See Sethe, *Verbum*, I, pp. 159 and 239, hence the fem. infinitive.

* The tomb of this Thethy is located in the same cliff (Morgan, *Cat.* I, p. 199); besides the titles above, he also bore the title: "who brings the products of the southern countries to the king"; which we should expect of one who voyaged to Punt.

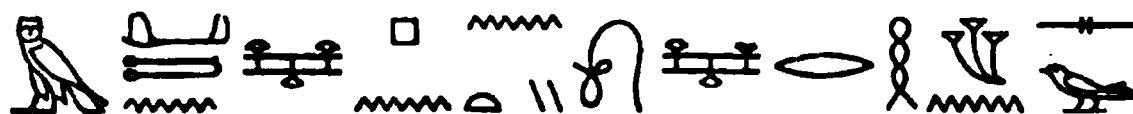
† The numeral is unfortunately not copied, but it could not have been less than 2, or the number of times would not have been mentioned at all. This, with Pepinakht (Morgan, *Cat.*, I, p.p. 174-176) increases the number of Punt expeditions known in the Old Kingdom by at least three.

the temple of Abydos, King Neferhotep says (Mar., Ab., II, 33, l. 34).
 "I search out excellent things for the future,



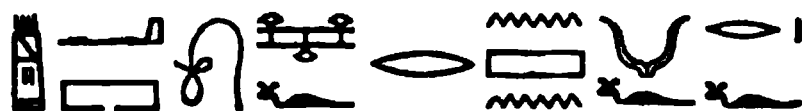
by putting* this example in your hearts, which *is about to* happen in this temple."

(7). The mountain road over the Carmel range is thus described (Annals, l. 27) :



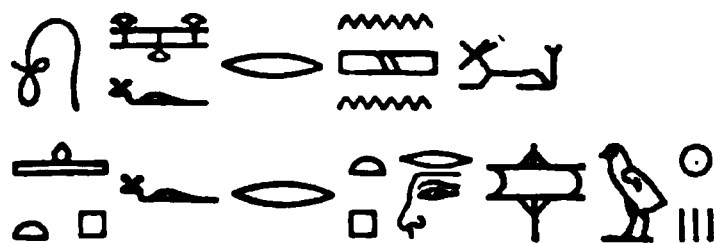
"This road which *begins to* be narrow."

(8). In the life of Harmhab before he was king, it is said of him (Brugsch, *Thes.*, 1075, l. 7): "He was summoned before the sovereign,



"the palace *it began to*—? (when) he opened his mouth."

(9). Similarly in an obscure passage on the stela of Sehetepibre (Mar., Ab., II, 24, ll., 13-14, collated with Berlin squeeze) it is said of the king: "He hath filled the Two Lands with strength; (he is) life cooling the nostrils,



(when) he *begins to* be terrible (?), he is pleased to—? the breath."

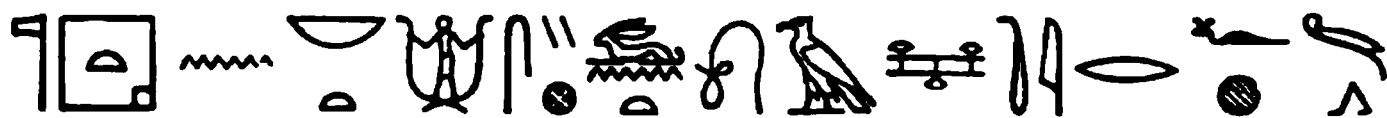
Here belongs also the frequent usage of the phrase in referring to the ruinous condition of buildings and the like as in the following *L., D.*, III 38d) :



"Behold his majesty found (it) *beginning to* go to ruin." This phrase is practically stereotyped. It is slightly varied in the following :

* One expects *m rdyt*; the form in the text looks like a negative imperative, "Do not ye put, etc.," but this is logically impossible.

(11). In the Speos Art. inscription of Hatshepsut (*Rec.*, VI, plate, ll. 15-16):



"The temple of the mistress of Cusae which *began to fall to ruin.*"

(12). Similarly of quarry chambers at Turra (*L., D.*, III 71a, l. 3).

(13). And again (*ibid.*, l. 5).

(14). Another variation with possibly the same meaning is (Petrie, *Hawara*, XXVII, 1):



(15). Sinuhe (l. 98):



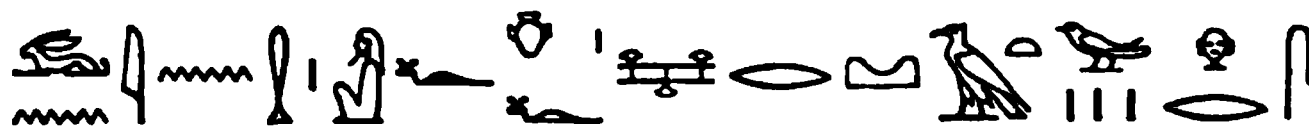
"(When) the Beduin *began to—?*, in order to punish the shekhs of the barbarians."

(16). The troops of the prince of Naharin are mentioned thus (Annals, so-called Statistical Tablet, l. 38):

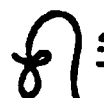


"They were numerous—, (and) they *were about to* fight with his majesty."

(17). When the king heard the announcement that his family was to lose the throne, (Westcar, 9, 12).†



"His majesty's heart *began to* be sad on account of it."

It is a question whether in many of the above examples there is not to be found the additional adverbial modification: "exceedingly," or "very" contained in the verb . Thus the ruined buildings may not merely have *began to* be ruinous, but may be "*far on toward*" ruin. Or in example (7) we should possibly

* Corrected from Uni (l. 13) 

(Det. not quite correct.) See Erman, *Gespräche*, p. 72.

† This is as yet (Aug. 1900) the only example in the Berlin lexicon.

ARZA AND AZIZA, AND OTHER ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY JOSEPH OFFORD.

In the "Beiträge zur Assyriologie" for 1900, p. 213, there is published an inscription from Palmyra which apparently throws light upon two somewhat mysterious Old Testament names, עֲזִיזָא, Aziza, of Ezra x, 27; and אֲרָצָא, Arza, of 1 Kings, xvi, 9. The new text is dedicated "to Arsu and to Azizou the benign gods," the words being אֲרָצָא and עֲזִיזָא for the deities in question.

The latter is also in another Palmyrene inscription in M. de Vogué's *Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions Sémitiques*, No. 95, and *Revue Archéologique*, 1900, p. 126. "Azizou, son of Azizou," etc., עֲזִיזָא בֶרֶךְ עֲזִיזָא בֶרֶךְ שְׁמִירָא.

Of these, Azizou has previously been found referred to in a Greek Asiatic text in (Cor. *Ins. Graec.* 4619) Θαῖμος Ἀζειζω εποίησα, and in a Latin inscription (Cor. *Ins. Lat.*, III, 1, p. 173), "Deo Azizo bono puero conservatori." The Palmyra text refers to a temple for this deity.*

Arsu, the אֲרָצָא, and אֲרָצָא or Ὠσά, Arza, of 1 Kings is a very old Semitic god,† being probably the dual deity Arq-reshef of the Sendschirli inscription, and an "earth god" connected, Mr. E. J. Pilcher suggests to me, with אֲרָצָא, the archaic or poetical form of the Hebrew אֲרָץ in Job xxxiv, 13 and xxxvii, 12. Azizou, or Aziza, "the mighty," is doubtless also a primitive title for a deity,

* M. Clermont-Ganneau refers in the *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, 1900, p. 116, to Dr. Brunnow in "Mitt. u. Nach. des Deutsch. Palaest. Vereins," 1899, who gives among new Greek Hauran inscriptions:

AZIZE
OCAIA
ACYA
ETI

The first word of which he reads Ἀζειζος. M. Ganneau raises some objection to this "if it is a translation of Nabatean עֲזִיזָא," suggesting a defective copy and perhaps Ἀζειζ(ος).

† Cor. *Ins. Graec.* 4495 gives as the Greek form Ἀρσά.

and both may perhaps be found in early Arabian inscriptions. Aziz also being one of the seventy names of the Arabic Allah.

That two Hebrews should bear as names the titles of Semitic deities is not strange, when we remember how many names were partly made up of the pagan title of Baal, and think of such a name as Anathoth, Nehemiah x, 20.

It may be noted in conclusion that the LXX of Ezra x, 27 reads 'Οζιζά, and the Vulgate has Aziaza. In the parallel passage of the Apochryphal 1 Esdras ix, 28, the Greek has Ζεραλίας, but I do not attach any importance to this.

Another Palmyrene inscription, in the "Beiträge," presents as a man's name a ידיעבבל, Jadi'abel, precisely similar in concept to the Jediael of 1 Chronicles vii, 6. In the Palmyrene inscription Azizou is said to be "son of Seila," a name assigned to Jephthah's daughter in the Apochryphal "Lament of Seila," published by Montagu R. James.

In our *Proceedings* for June, 1897, appeared an article by the Honble. Miss Plunkett upon the "Median Calendar," in which it was suggested that the Babylonian months were mostly lunar ones. To this was appended a short note from myself suggesting they were of 30 days, and a reply from Miss Plunkett giving additional evidence in favour of her view. A tablet has just been published in the *Recueil* by Père Scheil, which apparently further complicates the matter. It is a contract for the hire of workmen, and the scribe's method of calculation says that "the engagement of 123 men for four months is equivalent to that of 14,406 for one day." By a mathematical computation, Père Scheil shows that this indicates that the scribe's idea of a month was one of about $29\frac{1}{4}$ days (or more precisely, 29.28048775), 4 times $29\frac{1}{4}$ being 117, and 123 times 117 14,391, or only 15 short of the 14,406 of the scribe.

This gives rise to several interesting ideas such as the shortness this method gives to a year, necessitating an intercalary month almost every two years to rectify the discrepancy with the solar year. It is not likely that, for business purposes, the calculations made were mathematically accurate, but evidently about a full $29\frac{1}{4}$ days was reckoned as an average month, though some may have been of $29\frac{1}{2}$ and some of 29 days.

In our *Proceedings* for 1887, page 156, Sir P. le Page Renouf, speaking of the title given to Apollo in the Cypriote part of the bilingual inscription of Tamassos of A-la-si-o-ta-i, said, "I have very strong doubts as to the geographical origin of the god's title." Herr Max Ohnefalsch Richter has recently suggested, probably correctly, that it refers to Alashia, and therefore the text designates Apollo deity of that Syrian district. This is not singular, because the title Reseph, frequently used for the Cypriote Apollo, is a mainland Syrian name for the god; so also is the title Mikal of the same inscription of Tamassos, one unconnected with the island if it represents the Apollo of Amyclea in Laconia.

In the Madaba mosaic map, a city perched upon a hill beyond the Dead Sea bears the mutilated name of ΔΧΜΩΒΔ. This is קִיר מוֹאָב, Kir of Moab, mentioned in Isaiah xv, 1, the כִּרְפָּא or כִּרְדָּא of the Targum, which has long been identified with Kerak, the *Χαρακμῶβα* of Ptolemy and of the "Acts of the Council of Jerusalem." Confirmatory evidence upon the site, both numismatic and inscriptional, has recently appeared.

The first instance may be found in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1899, p. 274, in an article by M. Babelon upon two "Greek Imperials" of Elagabalus, which coins are specimens of the mintage for the city in question, one giving its Greek name form ΧΑΡΑΧΜΩΒΑ, the other presenting the ethnic one ΧΑΡΑΧ[ΜΩΒΗ]ΝΩΝ. The second record is an inscription published by Father Germer Durand in the *Revue Biblique*, 1895, p. 625, also in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1895, p. 225, which has been re-examined by Prof. Domazewski, and refers to the camp of the praetorium at Moba. He reads, "optimis maximisque principibus nostris Caio Aurelio Valerio Diocletiano pio felici invicto Augusto et Marco Aurelio Valerio Maximiano Pio felici invicto Augusto et Flavio Valerio Constantio et Galerio Valerio Maximiano nobilissimis Caesaribus castra praetorii *Mobeni* a fundamentis, Aurelius Asclepiates praeses Provinciae Arabiae perfici curavit."*

* Not "castra et eorum moenia fossamentis," as previously read.

In his *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*," 1900, M. Ganneau has an article, "Les trois Kerak de Syrie," treating of all Arabic references to these sites, especially referring to the identity of Kerak-Moba with the Karak of an interpolated fragment in a singular Arabic MSS., No. 1899, in the Bibliothèque Nationale. His notes of interest to geographers, are beyond the scope of my suggestions, which refer only to pre-Islamic identifications.



EGYPTIAN NOTES.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

Mr. Weigall deserves our best thanks for having edited in the January number of the *Proceedings* a series of Egyptian monuments, which not being in Museums generally visited by Egyptologists, were destined to remain unknown to science. To show the interest I have felt in studying the article, and to engage the author to continue his meritorious publication, I should like to add here some notes on documents connected with those treated in his communication.


P. 12. The monuments of the high priest of Ptaḥ at Memphis, Ptaḥ-mes, who lived under Amenophis III, were also registered and partly published by Schiaparelli, *Catalogo del Museo di Firenze*, I, p. 197, *sqq.*, to whose indications may be added: the naos at Gizeh has been published by Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 32; Piehl, *Inscr.*, I, 80-81, *cf.* II, p. 68. A pyramidion with his name is at Berlin, nr. 2276, published by Piehl, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, X, p. 536; Steindorff, *Blüthezeit*, fig. 71. The Kohl-pot of the man, quoted by Newberry, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XXI, p. 306, is at Alnwick Castle (publ. Wilkinson, *M. and C.*, III, 383); the cover of a vase was in collection Lee, nr. 495 (publ. *Cat. of Hartwell Museum*, p. 69). The designation of the high priest on one side of the pestle by Mes, shows an abbreviated form of the name used besides Ptaḥ-mes, as we find Teta besides Pepi-teta, Nebt besides Nebt-sechet-en-Rā, etc. (*cf.*, p. ex., Erman, in *Etudes dédiées à Leemans*, p. 52).

P. 13. The cher-heb her tep Pa-tu-Āmen-āpt is the same person as the proprietor of the largest tomb in the Assasif at Thebes,* who lived at the beginning of the Saitic period. Several Uschebti of him exist in Museums, of excellent workmanship; a large percentage of

* Nr. 23; described by Wilkinson, *Thebes*, p. 129, *sqq.* Isolated texts from it in Lepsius, *Denkm.*, III, 282, *Text*, III, p. 244, *sq.*; Dümichen, *Aegypt. Zeitschr.*, 1883, p. 11, *sqq.* A publication of the whole tomb was begun by Dümichen, *Grabpalast des Patuamenap*. Leipzig, 1884-94. *Cf.* Maspero *Etudes de mythol.*, I, p. 287, *sqq.*

them being broken in the middle.* Probably this breaking was done intentionally to kill the statuettes and to send them thus after the dead man, a proceeding well known from older periods, used also in this tomb, which shows in its inscriptions many points borrowed from the Ancient Empire's *materia sacra*.

A statue of the man in a cowering position is preserved in the Museum at Syracuse. It bears written from right to left the name

, and near this in vertical lines a longer text running from left to right. This one I copied more than twenty years ago during a hasty visit to the Museum, and give now here a reproduction of my copy, notwithstanding that, owing to the characters being in some places much worn, here and there a mistake may have crept into my copy,† hoping that one of our Italian colleagues may give us some day a corrected edition.

(1) (2)
 (3) (?)
 (4)
 (5)
 (6)
 (*neter tef-u*) (7)
 (8)
 (9)

* P. ex., Louvre, *Magazin*, IV, 3473; coll. Chester. Luxor, Jan., 1881; Petersburg, nr. 921, *cf.* Golenischeff, *Inv.*, p. 134. A complete Uschebti is published in these *Proceedings*, XVIII, Pl. VII, p. 145, where the dating in the XXth Dynasty has to be modified.

† For some signs I could compare a copy taken by Dr. von Bissing.



P. 13. A statue, which appears to represent the same Min-mes, was standing about 1881 at Luxor before the house of the consular agent of America.† It was a naophorus, which had lost its head, and

represented the priest of , son of the priest of


.

On the shoulder was engraved the cartouche

.

The father Horà will be the same person as the



(sic) , quoted on the family monument of Amen-em-ant at Naples; * and Min-mes belongs, therefore, to one of the most distinguished families of his time.

* Quoted in my *Aegypt. Geschichte*, p. 470.

† Sharpe, *Egypt. Inscr.*, II, Pl. 38; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 951, *sqq.*; c. Brugsch, *Gesch. Aeg.*, p. 541; Lieblein, *Dict. des noms*, nr. 905.

P. 15. A small naos made of greenly glazed silicious earth, similar to that published on the plate by Mr. Weigall, but without the moving doors, was bought by me in 1897 at Luxor, and is still in my possession. It has the same form as that of Col. Evans, and bears also above the ring for suspension. It is 14mm. large and deep, high at the front side 32mm., at the back side 23mm. The top ornamentation is formed by seven uraei and beneath them the sun's disk ☉. Underneath is a flat part, which in its upper half is broken by a quadrangular opening—the arrangement remembering the large naos of Philæ in the Louvre, only that in our exemplary the bay is larger than high (6:5mm.). Through this window we may see into the interior of the naos, which is quite hollow, and in the middle of which a plastically formed hawk is sitting. The three other sides are executed in pierced work and show each time the upper part of a hawk, wearing on its head the ☉. The naos will therefore probably have been dedicated to Chunsu, who generally wears this head-dress.*

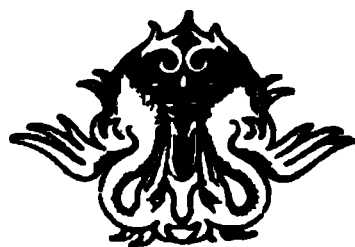
* Some similar, but larger naos exist, worked in bronze (naos of Amon, in the Brit. Mus., published by Arundale and Bonomi, *Gall. of Ant.*, Pl. 2; a second exemplary was in collection Mimaut, *Cat. Dubois*, nr. 6; naos of Horus at Berlin, nr. 8674, *Photo. Mertens*, I, 96).

I remain,

Yours very truly,

A. WIEDEMANN.

BONN, 13 May, 1901.



CONTRIBUTION TO THE SECOND TALE OF KHAMUAS.

BY WILHELM SPIEGELBERG.

GRIFFITH'S "Stories of the High Priests of Memphis" are so much beyond all praise, that the following corrections and suggestions will be understood simply as a mark of interest for a work which is one of the best and most useful that has ever appeared in the domain of demotic philology.

I, 1. The traces behind *nt kt* seem to allow the reading *t* (𓂏𓂏).^{*} So I restore "who lieth here."

II, 11. As GRIFFITH (*P.S.B.A.*, 1901, p. 17) has himself seen, *'w n yr-t* is 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, I may add here that *'w* is an unetymological group rendering old 𓂏𓂏 *ʔw*, the prototype of 𓂏𓂏.

II, 18. *shwe* is not identical with 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 derived from *shur* (*s^ahw'r*). The latter verb is known too in demotic e.g., Pap. mor. (ed. Pierret), 11,† and written with *h* (not *h*) I think that *shwe* is the verb 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, meaning "fascination, terror."‡ This change, however, does not influence much the sense of the passage.

II, 29, and *passim*. Is not *ate* an unetymological writing of 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, "chief, prince"? However, it has in this tale, as GRIFFITH has observed, the meaning "sorcerer."

^{*} See *Recueil de travaux*, XXI, p. 47.

† Cf. Hess, *Setna*, p. 73.

‡ The demotic clearly shows the reading *swh*. For the meaning compare especially Dümichen, II H.I., XV, 32; XVIII, 2. It has nothing to do with the verb *sh³(j)*, the causat. of *h³j*, which Brugsch (Wb. VII, 1090) has connected with it.

III, 7, footnote. I do not believe in the very ingenious combination of *gmj* with $\epsilon\iota\epsilon\epsilon$. The latter supposes the verbs *II*^{ae} inf.

'mj(w), which I see in the new Egyptian writing $\text{—} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$.

This view is supported too by the causative $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, which is easily explained by the simplex *'mj*, and would be a formation like $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ (see Steindorff, *K. Gr.*, § 242).

III, 10. *'šw* is not equal to $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\psi\psi\epsilon$ as GRIFFITH seems to think. $\epsilon\tau$ is wanting in the démotique form, and besides cannot be there, as *mdt* is not determined by the article. I think that we have before us Coptic ψor , with following inf. "worthy to do."* In Coptic this is connected with the preceeding noun as an adjective by \bar{n} , whilst our demotic text has \check{s} . It may be possible that we have here the interchange of n and ϵ , known from vulgar Coptic texts.† The sense of GRIFFITH's translation, however, is not touched by this grammatical alteration.

III, 18. Is it possible to see in the last group of this line $n\check{h}!t$, $n\Delta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, and to translate, "What is the credit of [the] things"?

IV, 1. As for the reading of the group, compared by GRIFFITH with $\epsilon\text{no}\tau\psi\epsilon$, the first element looks to me like *'nt*. So I see in *'nt-nfr* a substantivation of the adjective *nfr*, formed in the same way as *p'nt w'b*, "the holy," ‡ derived from *w'b*, "holy."

IV, 8. Concerning the often repeated passage, "cause him to be brought back up to Egypt in six (?) hours thither precisely" (?), I propose for the last words, "in six hours before they are over."§ For I guess that $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ is $\overline{\epsilon\text{no}\tau\psi\epsilon} \text{no}\tau\text{nk}$.

* See Lemm., *Kleine Aopt. Studien*, XVIII, p. 108.

† Erman, *Bruchstücke Koptischer Volksliteratur*, p. 55; Steindorff, *Ä.Z.*, 1900, p. 58.

‡ E.g., in a papyrus of Ptol. period, whose knowledge I owe to Dr. Reinhard, where $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, means "the sanctuary." This formation is known too in late

hieroglyphic texts. Cf. Serapeum Stela (Chassinat, 81), $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$

$\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ N., "the doorkeeper of the sanctuary (read *p nti w'b*) of the house of Ptah N."


§ Litt. "they are accomplished."

𑀧𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀓 in the sense of 𑀧𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓 is to be found too in other places, e.g., *Pap. Insinger*, XXXI, 5 :

සු36 ජූලිය, 1෦෧ ට්‍රිග්ග්‍රා3෮, 2෦෦෦, 1෦෧෦, 1෦෧෦, 1෦෧෦, 1෦෧෦
 p 35 'b . . . t' s'ent-f n'f d' p n'ter 'r-rh s'

“The tongue before it is asked, god knows its words.”

In the same way the passage II Kh., III, 12, may be understood. Unfortunately the verb at the end is destroyed, but I venture to translate, "thou art little of age and dost not yet ($\overline{\omega\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\kappa}$) understand (?) it."

Now we know another form of $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$ by the gnostic papyri of Leiden and London, written $\text{I} \epsilon \zeta \text{I} \text{L}$, "b 'r ti. I recall phrases such as *Gn.*, IX, 15, "thou readest a formula over the book before ($\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{N}}$)," $\text{I} \epsilon \zeta \text{I} \text{L}$, "b 'r ti-k "s 'p "lu; "before thou readest for the boy," or XX, 15, a child, $\text{I} \epsilon \zeta \text{I} \text{L}$, "b 'r ti-f; ($\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{Y}}$) s'm' n'm s-h'm', "before he had touched a woman"; cf. *Gnost. Lond.*, III, 11, 5; VI, 11. So I venture to believe that $\text{I} \epsilon \zeta \text{I} \text{L}$ and $\text{I} \epsilon \text{I} \text{L}$ are two orthographs corresponding to Coptic $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$. The first form is hieroglyphic , and hardly gives an etymological writing; in the second form I see an attempt to indicate the pronunciation of the group, for $\text{I} \epsilon \text{I}$, I , renders very well the last element of $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$, but I cannot find an explanation for $\text{I} \epsilon \text{I}$ *irw*?? Nevertheless it seems to me highly probable that the above groups correspond to $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$.

VI, 10. The proper name is to be read *Wesy-Rnutet*, i.e., "Termuthis (goddess of harvest) is mighty." Cf. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Studien*, I, p. 12*.

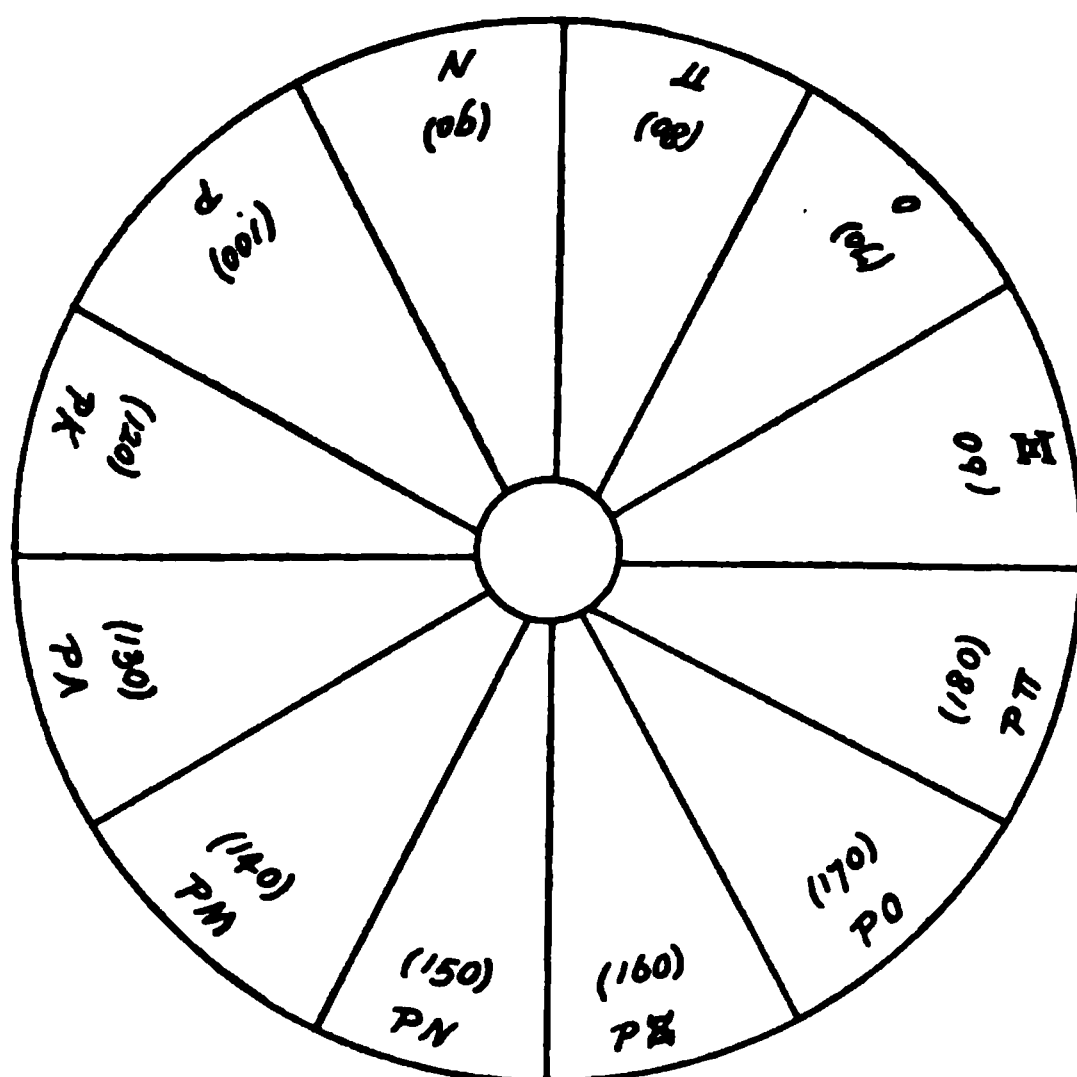
STRASBURG, *May 11th*, 1901.

* The ' is the auxiliary verb introducing the subordinate phrase, Coptic € in (€€€ΠΔΤ€).

A GREEK CIRCLE OF LATE TIMES SHOWING EUPHRATEAN INFLUENCE.

By ROBERT BROWN, JUNR., F S.A.

Apropos of my Paper "A Euphratean Circle of 360°,"* M. Clermont-Ganneau has kindly sent me a copy of a Palestinian circle which bears evident traces of Euphratean influence. He says, "Je me suis rappelé un curieux monument que je me permets de vous signaler et dont l'interprétation rationnelle est encore à trouver. C'est



un grand cercle exécuté en mosaïque dans un pavement antique à El-Husn, dans la Palestine trans-jordanique. Il est d'époque relativement basse peut-être byzantine." After briefly describing this monument, and referring specially to the fact that the number 110 had evidently been designedly omitted, he adds, "Je livre ce petit problème à votre sagacité." I append a copy of the Circle of

* *Proceedings*, Feb., 1900.

El-Husn, and, following M. Clermont-Ganneau's example, have inserted in brackets the numerical values of the Greek letters.

Although this type of design is novel to me, yet, after careful study, I do not doubt how the circle is to be understood. As every division of a circle must, either expressly or by implication, begin with 1 and proceed 2, 3 etc., and as the numbers in this circle are not consecutive but range from 60 to 180, advancing by tens, except in the instance of 110, which is omitted, it is evident that two or more divisions of the circle are here shown in combination. The following Euphratean divisions of the circle have been met with:—

Into 8 parts (Tab. K. 8538; *vide* Bezold, *Cat. Cun. Tabs. Kouyunjik Col. B.M.*, III. 937). As the Circle of El-Husn is divided into 12 segments, we are not here concerned with a circle of 8 parts.

Into 12 parts, these being further subdivided into 60,* 120† and 240 parts. These numbers appear in the great constellation-circles, as shown by Tabs. Sm. 162; 83-1-18, 6c8; and 81-7-27, 94.‡

Into 480 parts (Tab. K. 90. *Vide Proceedings*, Feb., 1900, p. 67), an intensification of the last-mentioned divisions. And

Into 360 parts (Tab. 84-7-19, 273), based on a year of 360 days.

In the abstract, a circle divided into 12 segments could be accommodated to the representation of 60, 120, 240, 360, or 480 parts (degrees), inasmuch as these several numbers are all divisible by 12. We have seen that 2 or more divisions of the circle are shown by the Circle of El-Husn; and, as only 12 numbers were to be used, the problem before the circle-maker was how to express as many divisions of the circle as possible with these materials. The segments themselves showed the number 12, and the single number 60 sufficed to show by implication the division of the circle into 60°, commencing with Sec. ΠΠ — 5°, PO — 10°, and so on. A lower number could not have been used, (1) on account of economy in

* *Vide Ibid.*, April, 1892, p. 299.

† This is also the Circle and Cycle of the Antediluvian Kings (*vide Ibid.*, Jan., 1890, p. 142).

‡ *Vide* R. B., Jr., *Primitive Constellations*, Vol. II, Frontispiece. The Sumero-Semitic Euphratean Planisphere reconstructed in accordance with the Monuments and the account of Diodōros, ii, 30, 31.

Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., May, 1901.

WOODEN PALETTE, EGYPTIAN.

(In the collection of E. Towry Whyte, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.)

numbers, there being only 12 numbers altogether available to express all the ideas ; and (2) because in a circle of 60° each segment would only have been 5° , and such a segment would have prevented the harmonious expression of the other numerical circles. Hence the circle begins with 60° .

Now, had the numbers proceeded from 60 by increase of 10 without any omission, the total of the circle would have been 170° , an amount altogether inadmissible in any division of the circle. One decade (110) is therefore omitted, and at such a place as to bring 120 opposite 60, each on the line of one half of the circle. The 60, therefore, also represents the half of a circle of 120° , which latter is shown by commencing with $PA - 10^\circ$, $PM - 20^\circ$, and so on. Similarly, the 120 suggests the half of a circle of 240° , and the 180, which is also arranged to fall at the half circle, the half of a circle of 360° .

If this be the correct way of regarding the design of the Circle of El-Husn, we see that by the use of only 12 numbers, it expresses, directly and indirectly, circles of 12, 60, 120, 240, and 360 divisions or degrees.

31, LANSDOWNE ROAD, S.W.

3rd January, 1901.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

The palette, of which I send a photograph, was obtained by me from the late Mr. Greville Chester as far back as 1885, but it is only quite recently that its possible use has occurred to me. Mr. Chester called it a painter's palette. That was evidently a mistake, as there are no receptacles for colours, nor is the hollowed out space suitable for brushes, but now I think that it must have been a gilder's palette, and it is well suited for that purpose ; the hollow space has probably held a thin bronze knife with a slightly curved broad cutting edge at one end, and either a very narrow chisel edge at the other, or else it was finished as a point ; either way would work well for picking up small pieces of gold leaf ; the curve on the broad edge is a necessity if it was used for cutting gold leaf, as if made straight it would tear the leaf and not cut it. The palette itself is made of thin wood, in

no part being more than a quarter of an inch thick. This wood, I think, is sycamore ; its length is $12\frac{3}{8}$ inches, and the width at one end has been about $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and at the other is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The broad end is a segment of a circle, having a 12-inch radius, and is slightly chamfered at the back, but more so on the front. The narrow end is also slightly curved and only chamfered from the back, making a sharp edge on the front. Now the object of these ends being curved and chamfered, if I am right in my theory, is for the easier application of the gold leaf to any object that might require to be gilded ; the broad end for the large surfaces, the smaller one for getting into the more difficult parts. Between the place where the knife was kept and the broad end are some incised lines, apparently marking the site of a gilder's pad, probably of leather, which has been glued on, but of this pad there is now no trace. There is a marked difference in the colour of the wood, as it is much lighter and cleaner from the top of the space for the knife down to the narrow end, suggesting that it was kept in a case, which came to about the bottom of the pad ; this case may have been either of leather or of cloth, into which the palette could be easily slipped, and by which means the knife would be kept from being lost. I have entered at some length into a description, as I believe that such objects are by no means common, and that it is a workman's tool and not merely a funeral object ; also perhaps it may help to bring others to light which have been classed under "objects, use uncertain." I may add that this is the only one I know of ; as regards the date it is impossible to form an opinion.

I am,

Yours very truly,

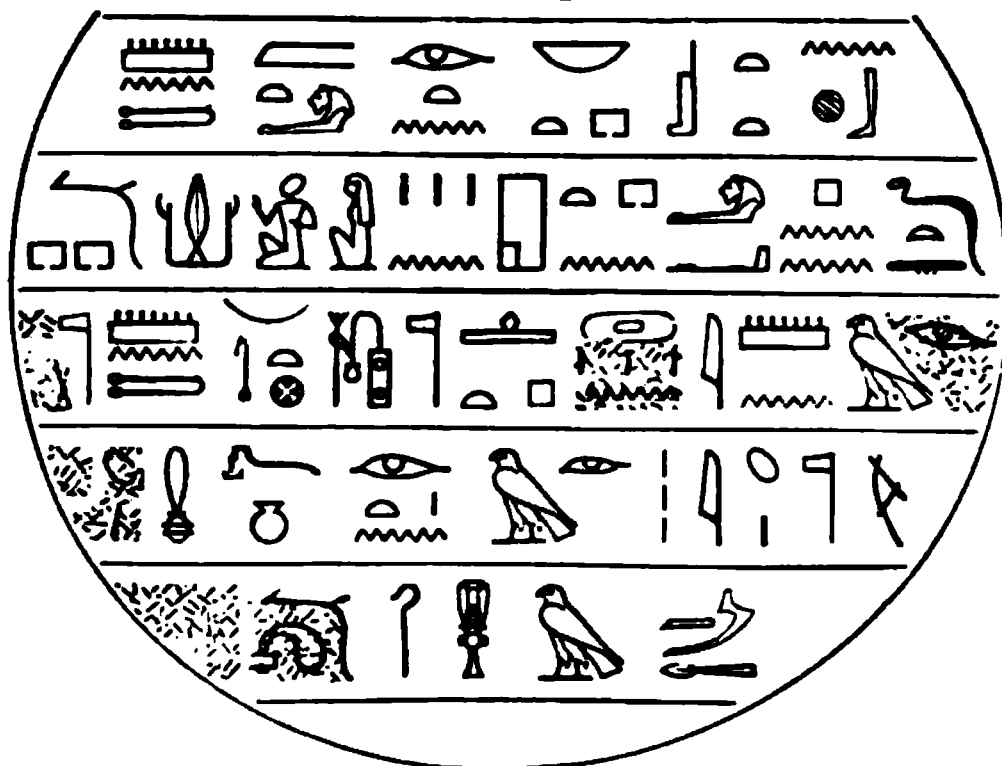
E. TOWRY WHYTE.

AN INSCRIBED DISK OF THE XXIIND DYNASTY.

Among the Egyptian antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, in case lv, there is a small imperfect green glazed steatite disk, about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in thickness, and measuring about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. Upon it five horizontal lines of hieroglyphics are inscribed; and as about a sixth portion of the disk—now lost—has been snapped off along one of the separating lines near the beginning of the inscription, it is probable that it contained originally six lines. The label, which gives a now valueless translation made many years ago, pronounces the object to be of XXIInd dynasty workmanship, and of uncertain use.

The inscription runs as follows :—

[Broken off along this line.]



-
- (1) *Mentu-em-hât arit ne nebt per Ast-nekheb*
 - (2) *Mer perui henu ka ne het ne hâ pen ne zetta*
 - (3) *Hen neter Mentu neb Uast sesh neter hetepu ne Amen Heru-âri*
 - (4) *Se mâ ennu Arit-ne-Heru-âru-â se neter meri*
 - (5) *Mer net heq Sekhem Heru mââ kheru*

. (1) Mentu-em-hat born of the Lady of house Ast-nekheb. (2) The Superintendent of the houses of the priests and priestesses of the ka in the temple of this Prince of Eternity, (3) the priest of Mentu Lord of Thebes, and Scribe of the holy offerings of Amen : Heru-ari. (4) Son of a similarly entitled person, Arit-ne-Heru-arua. Son of the God-beloved (5) Superintendent of the Accounts, and Prince of Sekhem : Heru, deceased.

The disk is thus seen to have belonged to Heru-ari, a personage who held the interesting position of Superintendent of the two houses of the priests and priestesses, who administered to the needs of the Ka of the deceased Mentu-em-hat, son of Ast-nekheb, a nobleman well known in Egyptian history. This Heru-ari was the son of a person holding a similar appointment in the temple of Mentu-em-hat, named Arit-ne-Heru-arua ; and the grandson of a certain Heru, who held the important titles of Superintendent of the Accounts, or Treasurer, and Prince of Sekhem, *i.e.*, Diospolis Parva, a Nome of Upper Egypt. On the back of the object the word "Erpar" is inscribed, according to the label: this, I suppose, is



My thanks are due to the authorities for their permission to publish an account of the disk. Such objects constantly find their way into museums, public and private, and there escape further notice ; in spite of the fact that their inscriptions contain, as in this case, matter of interest and of very possible use in the restoration of the Egyptian aristocracy. It is always desirable, therefore, that they should be brought into print when observed.

ARTHUR E. WEIGALL.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday, June 12th, 1901, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will, be read :—

PROF. DR. WIEDEMANN: "Bronze Circles and Purification Vessels in Egyptian Temples."

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-FIRST SESSION, 1901.

Fifth Meeting, 12th June, 1901.

PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE (*President*),

IN THE CHAIR.

The President referred to the very severe loss the Society had suffered by the death of MR. ARTHUR CATES, Vice-President, which took place on the 15th of May last.

Until his health prevented his going out in the night air, he was a regular attendant at the Council and other Meetings; and as soon as the hour of the meetings was changed to the afternoon, MR. CATES again took his place, whenever his health would allow him.

In the early years of the Society, when a difficulty arose with reference to the Secretary, notwithstanding the many calls on his time, MR. CATES at once undertook the duties; and to the great advantage of the Society, retained the office of Honorary Secretary for a considerable length of time.

One of the earliest members of the Society, ever ready to help when it was in his power, he had been one of its best friends throughout a long number of years.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—Percy E. Newberry. *The Life of Rekhmara, Vezir of Upper Egypt under Thothmes III and Amenhetep II (circa B.C. 1471–1448), with twenty-two plates.* London. 4to. 1900.

From the Author:—Alfred Boissier. *Matériaux pour l'étude de la religion Babylonienne.* Paris. 8vo. 1901.

From the Author:—Rev. P. Cesare A. de Cara, S.J. *Della Stela del Foro e della sua Iscrizione Arcaica.* *Civiltà Cattolica.* May, 1901.

The following candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated in May:—

John William Mather, 206, Mare Street, Hackney, N.E.

D. van Hoytema, Obreehtstraat 96, The Hague, Holland.

Rev. Bernard B. Woodd Smith, Missions to Seamen Institute, East India Road, Poplar, E.

The following candidates were nominated for election. This being the last meeting of the session, they were by special order of the Council submitted for election, and elected Members of the Society:—

Prof. John L. Myres, Christ Church, Oxford.

Jean Capart, 227, Rue de Trône, Brussels.

The following Papers were read:—

Prof. Dr. WIEDEMANN. “Bronze Circles and Purification Vessels in Egyptian Temples.”

The President gave a short address on recent discoveries in the East.

Remarks were added by Dr. Gaster and Mr. W. St. C. Boscawen.

BRONZE CIRCLES AND PURIFICATION VESSELS IN
EGYPTIAN TEMPLES.

BY A. WIEDEMANN.

In his *Pneumatica* (II, 32, p. 148, ed. Schmidt), Heron of Alexandria states that "there were in the temples of the Egyptians at the door-pillars (? πρὸς ταῖς παραστασι, a word which might also mean colonnade or fore-hall) circles of bronze, capable of being turned (τροχοὶ χάλκεοι ἐπιστρεπτοί), in order that the persons entering should turn them; the belief being, that bronze purified (τὸν χαλκὸν ἀγνίζειν). But there are also sprinkling-vessels (περιρραντήρια*) to sprinkle (περιρραίνεσθαι) the entering persons." In the following sentences an arrangement is described, by which, if the circle was turned, the water for the sprinkling flowed out of the vessel. To do this it was not necessary to turn the circle completely, or several times round its axis, but partly turning was sufficient to produce the flowing out.†

* As we know nothing about the consecration of the sprinkling-water in Egypt, the rendering of this word by holy-water pot appears to be inadvisable.

† Generally a second passage of Heron (*Pneumatica* II, 32, p. 298, ed. Schmidt) has been quoted with regard to the same custom. A bronze-circle is also mentioned capable of being turned, the so-called expiation-wheel (ἀγνιστήριον), which the visitors to the temples were accustomed to turn. But here the Egyptians are not named: ἀγνιστήριον is a Greek *terminus technicus*, not an Egyptian one, and the following sentences command an arrangement, by which a bird (the μελαγκόρυφος), which is standing on a θησαυρός, and united with the circle, was made to turn and to pipe. The last arrangement calls to mind at once the Greek custom of tying a bird (mostly the ἰνυξ) to a magic wheel, and of turning this (cf. Schol. Pindar, *Pyth.* 4, 214; Theocrit. *Id.* 2, etc.). Under these circumstances we have here rather a mention of a Greek wheel than of an Egyptian. The θησαυρός will not be intended in the usual sense, a treasury (offering-box?), but in the more general meaning a magazine or box, in which the wheels, etc., were placed, which had to connect the turning of the circle to the bird.

A second allusion to a similar circle is found in a fragment of Dionysius Thrax, who flourished about 110 B.C.,* preserved by Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. V, 672, 26-35. He quotes as an example of a symbolic action "the circle, which can be turned (τροχὸς ὁ στρεφόμενος) in the districts (τέμενος) of the gods, which is drawn in Egypt."

In later times Plutarch, *Numa*, 14, tells that the Egyptian circles (τροχοί) remind us of the instability of human life, a remark which is not founded on Egyptian explanations, but is derived from Plutarch's philosophical speculations, as well as the greatest part of his interpretations of Egyptian mythological or religious ideas. Only the fact of the existence of the circles in Egypt can be taken from this passage.

These classical allusions have been treated in recent years by several modern authors. In his excellent and successful excavations at Denderah, Flinders Petrie found a stela of Ptolemaic times showing above a Demotic inscription two symbols, the first resembling a fork standing upright, the second a circle crossed by two lines. These figures reminded him of the Buddhist symbols of the wheel of life and the *trisol*; so that he supposed this stela to be a relic of one of the Buddhist missionaries, who came in Ptolemaic times to Egypt.† The stela itself has been published in Petrie, *Denderah*, Pl. 25a, No. 1, and the inscription translated by Griffith (p. 54), "the tomb of Pscheiapi, son of Gemt, the Barber." He proposes to explain the signs as a cake and a flesh-hook, or as symbols of a trade, and mentions that Rapson thinks their form unlike the Buddhist symbols. Goblet d'Alviella,‡ taking the hypothesis of Petrie, treats the Egyptian wheels in connection with the Indian prayer-wheels, the middle-age and modern fortune-wheels, etc., and tried to prove their origin from Chaldean ideas. Lastly, Erman§ reprinted the passages of Heron and Clemens.



In looking through the Egyptian monuments to see if there might be found a mention of the custom above referred to, we must first remember that, so far as we know, the cult in the temples of the Nile Valley was not changed in the Ptolemaic period, and that therefore the ceremonies then in use will have been considered as going


* Cf. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, III, 189.

† Simpson, in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1898, p. 873.

‡ Bull. de l'Acad. roy. de Belgique, 3 Ser., 36 p., 439 sqq., 1898.

§ *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 38, p. 53 sq.

back well into old Egyptian times. Besides, the manner in which the circles and the ablution vessels are named together shows that their use was not an isolated one. In fact, Egyptian monuments contain from the Middle Empire down to the Roman period a combination of circle and water-vessel in the forms \bigcirc and , which appear specially at the top of many stelas, and whose sense has not yet been satisfactorily determined. Sometimes only one of them is found, in other places they are combined with other symbols, as the two eyes , or the two jackals. These groups appear to refer to the objects described by Heron as serving to purify the visitors to the temples. On the stelas they will allude to the purification of the man before entering the realm of death, where purity was of the highest importance, as, for example, the often repeated exclamation of the dead, "I am pure," shows.



The same objects must be understood in titles found on the Ptolemaic sarcophagus of Pa-nehem-Isis,* who was "prophet of Āa-Sehenāt, prophet of all the gods and goddesses there  prophet of its trees, prophet of its water-place." In the two titles given in hieroglyphs, the first cannot well be translated "the prophet of the doors."† Yet the dual being used instead of the plural speaks against such an interpretation. The group will rather form a composite-word, the two vessels of the door, Pa-nehem-Isis being then prophet of purification vases, which stood, as Heron says, near the temple entrance. The word *Kerāu* will not have referred to the ordinary bolts, the prophetship of such unimportant things not appearing in a right proportion to the other offices of Pa-nehem-Isis, but to the locking instruments of the temple as far as they had to help the purification of the visitors. Some remarks about the indications given by the monuments for the Egyptian temple-bolts in the shape of lions will make such an interpretation more evident.



The word which generally defines a bolt is







* Found at Saqqarah, now at Vienna; published and described by von Bergmann; the titles by Brugsch, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 1863, p. 41 sq.; the emplacements by Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, pp. 263, 785.

† *āa* "the board, in stone or wood, which closes a door or an opening, the door, the lid, etc." Cf. Maspero, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 11, pp. 314, 316; Brugsch, *Woerterb.*, p. 158.

Kerâu, *Kert*,* in the pyramid-texts   *Kat*,† Coptic ΚΗΛΛΙ *repagulum*.‡ Brugsch§ thought that a parallel to the construction of the lion-shaped *Kerâu* was given by the arrangement of a modern Persian lock. But the two examples now in the Berlin Museum, which were considered by Brugsch as having been found in Egypt, came probably from Persia,|| and cannot be used to explain an Egyptian custom, especially because the Persian lock depends upon the application of a spring, the knowledge of which has till now not been proved to have been known in ancient Egypt.

A second name of the Egyptian lion-shaped lock, used especially in later times, is   *heken(u)*,¶ a name which was derived from *heken*, "glorify, adore." A text** describes such a *heken* as similar to a lion who has turned his tail.††

The material used in making a lock *hekenu* was sometimes a combination of precious metals‡‡ or more commonly a bronze,§§

* Other variants given by Brugsch, *Woerterb.*, p. 1465, cf. the texts of 'Todtenbuch, 64, 9 (for the sense of this passage see Renouf, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 16, p. 4), where one variant in Naville, II, p. 133, has the old    .

† These texts contain (Teta 200 = Pepi II, 791 and Teta 235 = Unas 494 = Pepi II, 156) chapters about the *Kat* closing the doors of Nut and those of Nu.





‡ In a more general sense a text of Edfu (Brugsch, *Woerterb. Suppl.*, p. 351, 1258) speaks of a helm moving on its *Kerâu*, probably a wooden nail.

§ *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 1863, p. 41 sqq.

|| Pietschmann in Perrot, *Aegypten*, p. 863.


¶ Dümichen, *Templ. Inschr.*, I, 87, 3, 96, 1; *Hist. Inschr.*, II, 56; *Rec.*, IV, 72, 10; *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 1875, p. 122; cf. Brugsch, *Woerterb.*, p. 1002; *Suppl.*, p. 856; Levi, *Diz.*, V, p. 246 f.


** Dümichen, *Tempel Inschr.*, 87, 3; cf. Dümichen, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 10, p. 103; Brugsch, *Woerterb.*, p. 1002.

†† A third designation is perhaps to be found in the   of the *Papyrus Westcar* IX, 2, translated by Erman, *Papyrus Westcar*, p. 43, as closed building or lock of a building, and afterwards as key, by Maspero, *Contes pop.* 2ed., p. 69, as book-box, and compared by Crum, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 36, p. 147, to the Coptic ΕΠΩ, and rendered by door. Cf.   stick, board, *Pap. d'Orbiney*, 18, l. 1; Brugsch, *Woerterb.*, p. 51; *Suppl.*, p. 50.

‡‡ Dümichen, *Hist. Inschr.*, II, 56, col. 1-2; cf. Lepsius, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 10, p. 116.

§§ χαλκός is given by Diodor, I, 96; Plut. de Is., 29, as used for Egyptian temple doors or lockings.

which is named in the Egyptian texts  *tehset*,* a word translated by the Egyptologists first† as iron, but since‡ proved to be bronze. An inscription at Edfu § states, “its (the temple’s) beautiful doorfolds are made of true wood of acacias, the garnishment of bronze (*χomt*) from Asia, its *hekenu* and its *peh-ha* || of bronze (*tehset*) in excellent work. All its lions ¶ hold the fiends (such that they cannot enter into the temple).” A similar notice** is given from Denderah, where the *tehset* is said to come from the country Bakta, situated in Asia. Also other texts give this Bakta or other parts of Asia as the land from which the Egyptians obtained the *tehset*, †† just as the still oftener quoted *χomt*, ‡‡ which metal also corresponds to bronze or copper. As *tehset* and *χomt* appear sometimes side by side, §§ a difference must have existed between the signification of the two words, but as other texts show the two words to be nearly equivalent, this diversity cannot have been a great one; probably there existed a difference in the alloy of the copper and tin in the two sorts of bronze. This use of bronze for religious buildings deserves consideration, as a late text ||| connects the *χomt* and *ba-pet*, “iron,” with Set—the last as well as Plutarchus, de Iside, 62—while it combines the *māfek* with Osiris.

* A text at Karnak (Brugsch, *Woerterb. Suppl.*, p. 1258) speaks, between the buildings of the high priests of Amon, of their  *Keran* in *χomt*.

† Lepsius, *Metalle*, p. 104; *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 10. p. 114; Brugsch, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 1875, p. 122.

‡ Brugsch, *Woerterb. Suppl.*, p. 417, 1350. Müller, *Asien*, p. 127, takes it, as well as *χomt*, for copper.

§ Brugsch, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 1875, p. 122.

|| After the determinative given in the text to this word, it means the chain for closing the entrance of the temple.

¶ The lions, in the form of which the *hekenu* were worked out.

** Dümichen, *Rec.*, IV, 76, 11; cf. Lepsius, *Metalle*, p. 105; Brugsch, *Woerterb.*, p. 1592; *Aegyptologie*, p. 401.

†† There appears Asia (Brugsch, *Rec.*, II, 74; Mariette, *Dend.*, I, 70, 10; Dümichen, *Temp. Inschr.*, I, 111, 2); Bakta (Dümichen, *Rec.*, IV, 72, 10, for the *hekenu*, IV, 74, 10=Mar., *Dend.*, I, 70, Nr. 10); Persia (*Rec.*, IV, 63, 9); Cyprus (*Rec.*, IV, 67, 8).

‡‡ Passages for the older period in Müller, *Asien*, p. 127, for the later in Lepsius, *Metalle*, p. 91, *sqq.*; Dümichen, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 10, p. 102.

§§ Dümichen, *Rec.*, IV, 67, 8.

||| *Pap. geogr. Tanis*, edited by Griffith and Petrie, two hieroglyphic papyri, pl. 10, frg. 16.

The appearance which such a *hekenu* had, is shown by several original bronzes found at Horbeit. The largest and best of these* dates from the time of King Apries, and is 0·64^m long and 0·27^m high. It represents a lion lying in a sort of case, the head and forepart looking out of the case. The upper part is plain; behind the lion a four-sided elevation is prominent. At the back part a hole goes into the body of the lion. A chain consisting of several links begins between the lion's claws.—The hieroglyphic writing of the determinative of the word *hekenu*, in several texts,† shows that this addition was not always a real chain, but more often was formed by a vertical line, at the end of which a \bigcirc was fixed.

This addition appears to me to be the *τροχός* of Heron, which was turned in order to effect the action intended by the name of these objects, *hekenu*, "adore." In the example of Horbeit a link of the chain would be moved for the same purpose. From this will have been derived the importance of the \bigcirc as a sign of holy purification at the top of the stelas or in the claws of the bird, fluttering above the head of the kings, an importance which is further proved by the fact that the Pharaoh is represented‡ bringing to the divinity the \bigcirc .§


* Now at Gizeh; published by Mariette, *Mon. div.*, pl. 41; Perrot, *Aegypten* fig. 492; Maspero, *Archéologie*, p. 295; *Hist. anc.*, III, p. 550. Cf. Mariette, *Not.*, Nr. 1010, p. 302; Maspero, *Guide*, Nr. 465, p. 51.






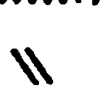




† E.g., Dümichen, *Tempel-Inschr.*, I, 96, 1; *Hist. Inschr.*, II, 56.

‡ Lepsius, *Denkm.*, IV, 61 f.


§ Quite another sign different from this \bigcirc , connected with purity, is, if also its form is sometimes drawn similarly, the \bigcirc , found as a variant of \bigcirc in a well-known title (for the signification of the hieroglyph \bigcirc , cf. Petrie, *Medum*, p. 33, frontispiece; Griffith, *Benihassan*, III, Nr. 36; Borchardt, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 28, p. 91; 35, p. 106; for its reading, Renouf, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, VII, p. 106; Crum, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 32, p. 66; Spiegelberg, *l.c.*, 36, p. 145; for the sense of the title, e.g., the passages in Revillout, *l.c.*, 18, p. 71, *sqq.*; Borchardt, *l.c.*, 23, p. 91).

Possibly there existed a relation between the object \bigcirc and the word *sennu*, found in the Papyrus Berlin, 3049 (Schaefer, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 34, p. 167), where the Pharaoh is called $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗} \text{𓆘} \text{𓆙} \text{𓆚} \text{𓆛} \text{𓆜} \text{𓆝} \text{𓆞} \text{𓆟} \text{𓆠} \text{𓆡} \text{𓆢} \text{𓆣} \text{𓆤} \text{𓆥} \text{𓆦} \text{𓆧} \text{𓆨} \text{𓆩} \text{𓆪} \text{𓆫} \text{𓆬} \text{𓆭} \text{𓆮} \text{𓆯} \text{𓆰} \text{𓆱} \text{𓆲} \text{𓆳} \text{𓆴} \text{𓆵} \text{𓆶} \text{𓆷} \text{𓆸} \text{𓆹} \text{𓆺} \text{𓆻} \text{𓆼} \text{𓆽} \text{𓆾} \text{𓆿} \text{𓇀} \text{𓇁} \text{𓇂} \text{𓇃} \text{𓇄} \text{𓇅} \text{𓇆} \text{𓇇} \text{𓇈} \text{𓇉} \text{𓇊} \text{𓇋} \text{𓇌} \text{𓇍} \text{𓇎} \text{𓇏} \text{𓇐} \text{𓇑} \text{𓇒} \text{𓇓} \text{𓇔} \text{𓇕} \text{𓇖} \text{𓇗} \text{𓇘} \text{𓇙} \text{𓇚} \text{𓇛} \text{𓇜} \text{𓇝} \text{𓇞} \text{𓇟} \text{𓇠} \text{𓇡} \text{𓇢} \text{𓇣} \text{𓇤} \text{𓇥} \text{𓇦} \text{𓇧} \text{𓇨} \text{𓇩} \text{𓇪} \text{𓇫} \text{𓇬} \text{𓇭} \text{𓇮} \text{𓇯} \text{𓇰} \text{𓇱} \text{𓇲} \text{𓇳} \text{𓇴} \text{𓇵} \text{𓇶} 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A connection between the lion-figure, which as *hekenu* held the bronze-circle, and a sprinkling-vessel, which would bring to mind, to a certain extent, the problem of Heron, is to be seen in the ideogram  for *rṯu*, "to give,"* which shows the lion offering the purification vessel, out of which, following Heron's idea, the sprinkling-water should flow. But such a combination is rare, much oftener the sprinkling-vessel appears to have stood alone.

The purification by water is one of the most frequently mentioned ceremonies in the Egyptian cult. Priests as well as gods had to undertake it at every moment, so that *āb*, "the pure," literally, as the determinative  shows, "the washed," became even the ordinary designation of the priest.† The solemn name of the ritual washing of the hands was  , *nini* (in the pyramid texts, , *nī*), and, as Brugsch‡ pointed out, this act expressed at the same time a rendering of respect, and a phrase, "the prisoners came,   , *em nini*," meant in a humble gesture. Washing of the hands was sometimes even a form of cult itself, and on a stela in the Louvre§ is named as an act of veneration,   , N.N., "clean the hands for the ka of N.N."

If the owner of a house came home, his wife presented water for his hands;|| an action rendered necessary by the hot and dusty climate of Egypt. In an analogous fashion, the cleansing was executed on entering a temple. Reliefs representing it are found generally near to the entrance; at Edfu, at this place a particular

take (for example, "Stela of the 400 years;" Prisse, *Mon.*, 19, 1, 3) , as the designation of the prenomen or of the two principal king-names. As also the meaning "household" of the King (Brugsch, *Woerterb.*, p. 1396; *Suppl.*, p. 1195), appears not very probable in the passage, it may be taken as (circle of) purity, and may form an *epitheton ornans* of the *srḫ*.

* Dümichen, *Tempel-Inschr.*, I, 102, 2; cf. Brugsch, *Woerterb.*, p. 844.


† Cf. Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch.*, p. 168 sqq.

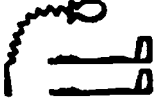

‡ *Woerterbuch*, p. 743 sq.; cf. *Rec. de trav. rel.*, etc., 10, p. 145; 15, p. 5. Pictures of the making *nini*, e.g., Leps., *Denk.*, III, 14, 58.

§ C. 73, in Pierret, *Inscr. du Louvre*, II, 23, where the stela bears by mistake the number 76.

|| *Pap. d'Orb.*, IV, 9.


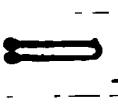
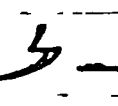
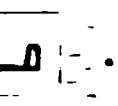
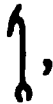


room, set apart for this ceremony was built, specially for the king.* Such a special room was an exception, generally vessels with water were placed near the entrance. As far as I have been able to discover, such vessels have not been found *in loco*, or at least no record of their being found has been published; but many of the stone vases in our museums, especially between those bearing a royal dedication, may have served for such a purpose. The ordinary form will have been that represented upon the funeral stelas ▽, and, corresponding to the intended use, they were probably of large proportions. For the later period the description of Heron proves that sometimes a special construction was used, and that the water could flow out of the vessels, which therefore must have had at the lower part a hole for the efflux. Fragments of vases corresponding to this arrangement have been found in several examples, dated from the time about 300 B.C., and ornamented with similar representations.

If also none of these are now complete, by comparing the fragments, their general type may easily be obtained. On the inside a series of hieroglyphic symbols and of points were engraved. On the outside the middle is formed by a hole going through the side to the inner cavity. Above it is sometimes a sitting cynocephalus seen from the fore-side, sometimes again only a hieroglyphic inscription is engraved. From here run to the right and to the left round the vessel in all six representations. In each of them a king, behind whom a divinity stands, makes an offering to another divinity. The names of these are those of the gods associated with the months,† and the arrangement at once reminds us therefore of a sculpture in the Ramesseum at Thebes, where in the centre the cynocephalus of Thoth is sitting on the , and Ramses II appears to the right and left before these personages, only that at the Ramesseum, where the artist had more space at his

* It is not clear if the title  *āb tet-ui*, sometimes with the addition of  *en neb ta-ui*, which was a very high one (Lieblein, *Dict. des noms*, 559, 2109; *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 17, p. 137; *Sphinx*, IV, p. 161), calls the functionary, who cleaned the king's hands at this holy occasion, or if this charge was assigned to him in more profane times.









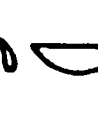
† A list of these had already been given in the calendar of the Ebers papyrus. Cf. for the names also Lepsius, *Chronol.*, p. 133 *sqq.*; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 472 *sq.*; *Aegyptologie*, p. 359 *sqq.*

disposal, instead of six groups, twelve have been formed.* The identity of the scenes will best be shown by a short description of the existing fragments of the vessels, to which may be added some remarks upon the peculiarities of each of them.




1. In the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, Nr. 2507a; in Golenischeff, *Inventaire*, p. vii, 374 *sqq.*, bought with Nr. 3 in 1887-8, published with No. 3 in Kircher, *Œdipus*, III, p. 385, "ex Museo Gaddiano Florentino."† In the centre a cynocephalus seen from the front sits on a pedestal, through which a round hole passes from the inside. Above the ka-name    .‡ On the left the upper part of a goddess without a name, but representing certainly Techu (month Thoth). On the right, Harmarchis (Mesor), stands before the King Alexander, who offers incense to him. Behind the Pharaoh stands a goddess with the crown of Lower Egypt, which must be Apet (Epiphi). In the inside of the vase are inscribed on the level of the efflux-hole , , , from which lines, consisting each of twelve points, run to the upper border.





2. In the Hart Collection at Reigate, published by Birch, *Archæological Journal*, VII (1850), p. 111, *sqq.* King Philippus Arrhidæus makes offerings to Min (Tybi); then he offers, followed by Sechet (Choiak) to a goddess, who must be Hathor (Athyr). Above Min is engraved on the upper border in late hieratic the number of the month Tybi, and near to it the Latin Oct., as well as above Sechet the Latin N., the beginning of November, a















* Lepsius, *Denkm.*, III, 170-171. The same representation, dating from Ramses III, is found at Medinet-Abu (Daressy, *Not. de Medinet-Habu*, p. 157), another occurs at Edfu (*cf.* Champollion, *Mém. sur les signes employés à la notation des divisions du temps*, p. 36).

† As a characteristic example how Kircher rendered Egyptian inscriptions may be noted, that he translates here the signs  (end of the indication, that the king is beloved by a divinity)         ("Speech: I give to thee all life and power, all health, all pleasure"), by "Agathodaemon vitae universalis praeses, humorem crateris magni diffundat ex superior cratere, immensâ rerum varietate ditatum, cui dictus Agathodaemon praest, in inferiores crateres, ad vitarum foecundam propagationem."

‡ For the importance which the combination of this ka-name of Nectanebus II with the name of Alexander has for the question about the origin of the "romance of Alexander," which designs Alexander the Great as the son, or even as a re-incarnation of Nectanebus II., see my notes in the *Orient. Literatur Zeitung*, III, Sp. 286 *sqq.*










synchronism, the meaning of which is not clear. In all cases the Latin words have been added to the monument * at a much later time. On the the inside the signs , ,  are joined to the border each time by twelve points.

3. At St. Petersburg, Hermitage, No. 2507b, Golenischeff, *Inventaire*, p. 376, sq., dated from Ptolemaeus. On the left an enhancement, probably from the efflux-hole. Then a goddess, which is Techī (Thoth), behind the king, who offers to Ptah, the lord of truth with beautiful face, at Heliopolis (Paophi). Then Hathor (Athyr), to which the king, followed by Sechet (Choiak), offers two vases. In the inside the signs , , , .


4. In the Barracco Collection, found at Rome, height 0.38 cm., published by Barracco and Helbig, *La Collection Barracco*, pls. 11 and 11a, text by Schiaparelli. On the outside in the middle a hole, above which occurs twice the ka-name of Ptolemaeus Philadelphus. To the left the king, behind whom stands the goddess    (Thoth), makes libation to    (Paophi). To the right stands Rā-Harmachis (Messori), to whom the king brings incense, behind the king stands the goddess    (Epiphi). Then stands the hawk-headed    (Payni) †, behind the king, who offers to   (sic) (Pachons). Then is to be seen the lower portion of a goddess, who must have been Renuti (Pharmuthi). Above each group the sign of the heaven filled with stars is drawn.

* Cf. also Strack, *Rheinisches Museum*, 53, p. 184.

† This god (cf. also Lanzone, *Dis. di mit.*, s.v.) is quoted from the old empire (Birch, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, III, p. 422, sqq., l. 25) down to the Ptolemaic time (e.g., Rochemonteix, *Edfou*, I, p. 53). As he is called sometimes

   (the later nomos Menelaïtes, cf. Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.*, pp. 1297, 1303, 629), he will be identical to the god    in the large divinity-list, Mariette, *Abydos*, I, pl. 44, 45, Nr. 56. On the naos of King Amasis in the Louvre (Pierret, *Inscr. du Louvre*, I, 78; Lanzone, *Dis. di mit.*, pl. 17),    is represented as a man with the head of a crocodile. A first prophet of him is found in Schiaparelli, *Cat. of Florence*, Nr. 1510. The god's name is used as a personal name Lieblein, *Dict. des noms.*, Nr. 1826, 1833.



Underneath the whole representation runs a horizontal line of inscription, enclosed between two lines filled with stars. The text names the king Ptolemy II, and describes him as beloved by

 Cheper, Osiris (Tum ?) and Hathor, the mistress of the sixteen.* Above the adoration scenes run four horizontal

lines. The uppermost and the third consist of stars, the second gives the title of king Ptolemy II, and the last states that the king

made an offering to
of the land of life.†


Then reference is made to the offering of this

 vessel   of black granite,[†] which was full of water. §


The following words have suffered too much by a fracture of the stone to be translated.




5. At Turin, formerly in the Museo Kircheriano, found at Rome behind S. Maria sopra Minerva, published by Kircher, *Œdipus*, III, p. 384. || At the top is a horizontal line, "to his father, the Nile, the father of the gods, he makes to him (the king) the giving life,

* This Hathor is quoted in Mariette, *Dend.*, II, pl. 28, l. 32 (*cf.* Lanzone, *Diz. di mit.*, p. 873) with the twentieth nomos of Upper Egypt, in the capital of which Hathor was adored (Naville, *Ahnas*, pl. 1F). She is here taken in relation with Sechet, who went out from Heracleopolis magna when she destroyed the human race, but nothing certain is known about the importance of the mistress of the sixteen, and it is only possible to guess that these sixteen originated in a duplication of the eight gods, who appear at Heracleopolis magna (*see* Dümichen, *Gesch. Aeg.*, p. 214, *sqq.*).


† This title is the same as that given by the Todtenbuch, 142, l. 22, to Osiris. The land of life is here the west (Brugsch, *Woerterb.*, V, p. 239), and the realm of death, and has not a special geographical meaning as in other texts (*cf.* Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, pp. 127, 1121). It is also not possible to compare here the  for the necropolis of Thebes (Brugsch *l.c.*, p. 327, *sq.*).

‡ Wendel, *Bau- und Edelsteine*, p. 72.

§ A  vessel of water is spoken of in the cult-ritual, treated first by von Lemm in chap. 64 (Amon ritual in Pap. Berlin, 3055, ed. Hieratische Papyrus zu Berlin, I, pl. 36), the text says only that Amon-Rā was pure through its water. The ritual in Mariette, *Abydos*, I, 32, has a chapter about the cleaning

with the    and with incense, an ordinary libation is then mentioned. These two passages have therefore nothing to do with the custom we are now describing.

|| For other Egyptian antiquities found in the Iseum of this region of Rome, see Lafaye, *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie*, p. 216 *sqq.*

stability, power." Below is written , before an empty cartouche ; the figure of the corresponding king has disappeared ; he stood before Min (Tybi).—At the inside 12 lines being in equal distances the one from the other.

6. Found at Rome, in ruins dating from the time of the Emperor Hadrian, in the Vigna Bonelli, before Porta Portense, published by Visconti, *Annali dell' Inst. di corrispondenza archeologica*, 1860, p. 437 *sqq.*, pl. R, fig. 3, black granite. In the middle, above a hole, are the remains of a now destroyed Ka-name. To the right and left the usual representations, each under a sky with stars, but without inscriptions. To the right, Rā-Harmachis (Messori), adored by a king, who is followed by a goddess (Āpet-Epiphi). Then the lower portion of a god (Horchentchaṭi-Payni). To the left, the king, followed by the goddess Techī (Thoth), adores Ptaḥ-ānub-res-f (Paophi). Then the king adores a goddess (Hathor-Athyr), and is followed by Sechet (Choiak). Then Min (Tybi) is adored by the king.

These are the fragments of these vessels I know,* but I think other Egyptologists, or possessors of private collections, may be able to increase this list, and help in the interpretation of their use in its peculiarities. There must exist a connection between these vessels and the months of the year, as is shown by the month divinities they bear, and by the number 12 playing a rôle in the point-lines engraved in their inside. Perhaps the purification-water in them stood under the protection of the cycle of these divinities. The gods named in the dedication formulas may have been the gods out of the temples of which the vessels originally came. But in all cases, I believe, we have to see in them the type of the purification-vessels, of which Heron speaks in the passage quoted at the beginning of this communication.

* It is worth noting how large, proportionally, the number is of such fragments found at Rome. Probably their form was exactly fitted to the manner in which the ablution was performed in the Roman form of the Egyptian cult.



ON THE IDENTITY OF 'AL MUḲAUKIS' OF EGYPT.

BY ALFRED J. BUTLER.

There is in the history of Egypt no figure at once so familiar and so mysterious as that denoted by the Arabic title Al MuḲaukas, or Al MuḲaukis. That the person in question played the leading part on the Roman side at the crisis of the Saracen conquest—that he was chiefly responsible for the surrender of Egypt—is agreed: but here all agreement ends. His personal identity, his name and nationality, the office he held, and the action he took, the very meaning of the title by which he is known—all these are questions debated, disputed, and answered in a fashion, but in such a fashion as to reveal the most hopeless discord of opinion. Nor is this discord to be wondered at: for, if a single fact is clear, it is that from the earliest times the Arabic authorities themselves are completely bewildered on the subject.

The problem, therefore, is not an easy one, and has even been judged impossible. Von Ranke, for example, boldly denies any historical character to the MuḲaukis, and relegates him to the region of myth. De Goeje ('De MoḲaukis van Egypte' in the *Études dédiées à Leemans*) remarks that the Arabic historians seem to have confused the MuḲaukis in some points with Cyrus, the Imperial Patriarch of Alexandria, although he was a different person and held a different office. Prof. Karabacek, in his article 'Der MoḲaukis von Ägypten' (*Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, Vol. I, pp. 1-11), concludes that the proper name of the MuḲaukis was George, son of Mînâ Parkabios, thus explaining the name **فرقب** or rather **قرقب** given to his father by some of the authorities. Karabacek assigns to the MuḲaukis the office of Pagarch, and explains the title as the Arabic form of the Greek *μεγαυχης*, which he *assumes* to have been an honorary designation, analogous to *ἐνδοξαστατος* and the like commonly found in 7th century papyri. Mr. Milne in his note on 'George the MuḲaukis'

(*Egypt under Roman Rule*, p. 224), identifies the Muḳauḳis with a George the Prefect mentioned by John of Nikiou, who is assumed to have been prefect of Augustamnica (*i.e.*, Athrib : see Hyvernât's *Actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte*, Vol. I, p. 296), though Athrib is hardly 'on the Eastern frontier of Egypt,' as Mr. Milne's argument requires. Prof. Stanley Lane-Poole (*Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 6, note 2) leans to the *μεγαυχή* theory of the name, and adopts Mr. Milne's identification of the man with George the Prefect, in spite of the Arab traditions which make the Muḳauḳis 'Governor of all Egypt, ruling from Alexandria.' He further accepts the conventional story which makes the Muḳauḳis a Copt. So Professor Bury speaks of him as 'The Coptic Governor' of Egypt (*Later Roman Empire*, Vol. II, p. 270). These varying accounts are at best but partial and incomplete. The truth is that none of these writers have grappled with the problem in its bearings on the history of the conquest, and so tested their theory against the various difficulties which its application must encounter. Moreover Al Muḳauḳis is not the only person whose identity is disputed. Almost all the chief actors on the Roman or the Egyptian side in the war are equally shadowy personalities, and they are often confounded together. Hence to identify the Muḳauḳis is only half the problem. Other figures have at the same time to be examined, and their substance if possible distinguished from the shadow. But this is a necessity which, I believe, no writer has yet fully appreciated : so that one may say that the problem in its entirety has never yet been adequately stated. The fact is that confusion of names and persons permeates the whole history of the conquest to such a degree that only in writing, or attempting to write, that history does one realise the magnitude or the intricacy of the problem.

I propose first of all to cite the evidence of the principal Arabic writers, and to see what material they furnish for stating or solving the questions at issue.

Al Balâdhuri (born 806 A.D.) mentions the Muḳauḳis as having made peace with 'Amr, and as siding with the Copts after Heraclius' disapproval of the treaty. In Manuel's rebellion some say that he sided with the Arabs, others that he was dead. Al Balâdhuri gives no name to the Muḳauḳis.

At Tabarî (839-923 A.D.) distinguishes the Prince of Alexandria from the Prince of Memphis : the latter was the Muḳauḳis, who was also Prince of the Copts. The Muḳauḳis sent to Memphis an

army under command of *the Catholicus, who was chief of all the Bishops of the Christians, and whose name was Ibn Maryam.*

Eutychius (born 876 A.D.) was a Melkite. He avers that Al MuḲauḳis was Controller of the Finances of Egypt in the name of Heraclius, a Jacobite at heart, though by profession a Melkite, and that he had kept back the tribute due to the Emperor ever since the Persians had beleaguered Constantinople. No name is given to the MuḲauḳis, who is made to live till after the revolt of Manuel.

Severus of Al 'Ushmūnain (? flor. early 10th century) is very important. His words are: 'When Heraclius had recovered his territories, he appointed Governors in every place. To us in the land of Egypt Cyrus was sent *to be Governor and Patriarch together.*' Of the ten years' persecution, the time of Benjamin's flight, he says: 'These were the years during which Heraclius and Al MuḲauḳis were ruling Egypt.' Again he says: 'When the ten years of the reign of Heraclius and the government of Al MuḲauḳis were over.' He further describes 'the misbelieving Governor, who was both Prefect and Patriarch of Alexandria.' Finally Benjamin is made to speak of 'the time of the persecution which befell me when Al MuḲauḳis drove me away'; and it is Severus who represents Benjamin as driven from his seat by the arrival of Cyrus. The significance of this testimony is obvious.

There is now a gap of nearly two centuries till we come to *Ibn al Athīr* (born 1160 A.D.), who mentions both *Abū Maryam* and *Abū Maryām*, the former *Catholicus of Memphis* (notice the absurdity of this title), the latter a Bishop. Both were sent by Al MuḲauḳis to attack 'Amr, but parleyed with him, and brought terms which the MuḲauḳis rejected. The MuḲauḳis himself was in command at the battle of Heliopolis, and later appears as Governor of Alexandria during the siege. He made peace with 'Amr, and was alive during Manuel's rebellion.

Ibn al Athīr is very confused as to the order of events, etc.

Abū Ṣāliḥ wrote circa 1200 A.D. He testifies that 'Mahomet sent Ḥātib ibn Abī Baltāah to Al MuḲauḳis, Governor of Alexandria,' *i.e.*, in A.H. 6, which began May 23, 627. After the recovery of Egypt, 'The country was placed by Heraclius under the government of *George, son of Mīnā the MuḲauḳis*, جريج ابن مينا. Again, of a monastery in Upper Egypt, he says, 'It was here that Benjamin lived in concealment in the reign of the Roman

Emperor Heraclius, who was a Chalcedonian, and while George, son of Mīnā, the Muḳauḳis, was ruling in Egypt, until the completion of the ten years, through fear of both of them, according to the warning of the angel.' The writer goes on to say that these were the ten years of the persecution suffered by the orthodox (*i.e.*, Copts).

Yākūt (born circa 1178 A.D.) further complicates matters. He says that the fortress of Babylon 'was commanded by *Al Mandafūr* called *Al 'Uairij* on behalf of *Al Muḳauḳis ibn Ḳarḳab al Yūnānī*' (بن قرقب اليونانى), son of Ḳarḳab, the Greek, 'whose usual residence was at Alexandria.'

Al Makīn (born circa 1205 A.D.) says that 'The Governor of Egypt in the name of Heraclius was Al Muḳauḳis, who together with the chief men of the Copts made peace with 'Amr.'

Ibn Khaldūn (born, 1332 A.D., flor. late 14th century) follows Ibn al Athīr, but has his own confusions. He makes the Muḳauḳis a Copt.

Al Maḳrīzī (born 1365 A.D., flor. early 15th century) quotes Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb for the statement that '*the Muḳauḳis the Roman, being Governor of Egypt*, made peace with 'Amr.' Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam is quoted as the authority for the survival of Al Muḳauḳis to the time of Manuel's rebellion. Ibn 'Abd al Ḥakam was an early writer (died 870 A.D.), whose work survives in MS., but he is a romancer rather than a historian, though often of value for dates.

Al Maḳrīzī follows Yākūt about Al 'Uairij, and in making the Muḳauḳis son of Ḳarḳab (or Ḳarḳat) the Greek. He says that the Copts had a *Bishop at Alexandria called Abu Miyāmīn*; that the Muḳauḳis made terms with the Arabs; but that Heraclius repudiated the agreement, reproaching him with imitating the meanness and cowardice of the Copts. Of Cyrus he says that Heraclius, 'أقام فيرش بطرك الاسكندرية', made *Firush* (sic) Patriarch or Alexandria'—a mistake for قيرس. *Al Wāḳidī* (so called, romance of uncertain date) says that '*The King of the Copts at that time was the Muḳauḳis, son of Rāil*.'

'*Abū 'l Mahāsīn* (born, 1409, pupil of Al Maḳrīzī) makes Benjamin the Coptic Bishop of Alexandria, and states that 'The Commander of Kaṣr ash Shamā was '*Al 'Ughairij*, who was subordinate to the authority of Al Muḳauḳis'; and two MSS. give the name of the Muḳauḳis as Juraiḥ ibn Mīnā جريخ ابن مينا, obviously a mistake

for جُرَيْج ابن مينا, or *George, son of Minā*. Elsewhere, however the same writer says that the fortress was 'commanded by *Al Mandafūr*, called '*Al 'Ughairij*, on behalf of *Al Muḳauḳis, son of Karḳab al Yûnânî*.'

This author also cites Ibn Kathîr's story (compiled from Ibn Ishâk and others), that the Muslims on their entry into Egypt were met by *Abû Maryam, the Catholicus of Egypt*, and *Abû Martâm, the Bishop*; and these two prelates are introduced at the building of Fustât.

As Suyûtî (born, 1445 A.D.) nearly agrees with the last writer. He states that the fortress was commanded by *Al Mandakûl*, called *Al 'Araj*, for the *Muḳauḳis ibn Karḳab al Yûnânî*: that the *Muḳauḳis's* usual residence was at Alexandria: that he made terms with 'Amr, which Heraclius repudiated: and that '*the name of the Coptic Bishop is Abû Miyâmîn*.'

This review of the chief Arabic authorities brings out their many discrepancies: but it is clear that there are three persons to be identified, viz., *Al Muḳauḳis*, *Abû Maryam*, and *Al 'Araj*. I will take them in reverse order.

(1) *Al 'Araj*, *Al 'Uairij*, or *Al 'Ughairij*. This name seems first to occur in *Yâkût* (early 13th century) as the name of the commander of the fortress of Babylon, whose title was *Al Mandafūr*, which may be a mistake for *Al Mandatūr*, and so a transcription of the Byzantine *μανδάτωρ* used as commander. *Yâkût* is followed by *Abû 'l Mahâsin* and by *As Suyûtî*, though the latter changes the title to *Mandakûl* by a mistake in copying (مَندفور becomes مَندقول). Prof. Lane-Poole asserts that this *Al 'Araj* or *Al Ar'aij* is identical with *Arṭabûn*, one of the Roman generals, and that he was also called '*Ibn Ḳurḳub*' (*Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 5, note 2). But this is a double confusion: for there is no authority for the identification, nor for transferring the name '*Ibn Karḳab*' from the *Maḳauḳis* to *Al 'Araj*.

I think, however, that *Al 'Araj* is merely a perversion through much copying of an original *Jurij* or *Jurîj*, and that in fact the name of the commander of the fortress was George—probably the same '*George the Prefect*' who is mentioned by John of Nikiou.

(2) *Abû Maryam*. This person is oddly described by Prof. Lane-Poole as a '*Catholic*' of Miṣr, who '*joined 'Amr's army*.' The term *Catholicus* means nothing more nor less than Patriarch.

It occurs among our authorities first in Aṭ Ṭabarī, whose Persian associations made him familiar with it, as the common designation of the chief Bishop of the Nestorian and Armenian churches: it is of very frequent use in Sebeos and other writers, and is perfectly well known to Du Cange. Indeed Aṭ Ṭabarī himself defines the term as meaning 'chief of the Bishops of the Christians,' but he adds the perplexing statement that his name was *Ibn Maryam*. Now, it is quite certain that there were only two Chief Bishops, or Patriarchs, at the time of the conquest, viz., Cyrus and Benjamin. 'Ibn Maryam' cannot possibly stand for 'Cyrus,' but it can very well stand for 'Benjamin'; and I hope to show that the two are identical. By Ibn al Athīr's time the name had been corrupted to '*Abū Maryam*,' who is 'Catholicus of Memphis.' Al Maḥrizī says that the Coptic Bishop of Alexandria was called 'Abū Miyāmīn': while Abū 'l Mahāsīn says, rightly of course, that the Coptic Bishop of Alexandria was called '*Banyāmīn*' or '*Benjamin*.' Finally, As Suyūṭī avers that the Coptic Bishop is *Abū Miyāmīn*. One has only to put these facts side by side to see at a glance how easily 'Abba Banyāmīn' became twisted into 'Abū Miyāmīn,' and then into 'Abū Maryam,' while 'Ibn Maryam' probably is a corruption of the simple 'Banyāmīn.' The Arab writers of course knew the name Maryam (Mary) as one held in high reverence by the Christians, and they mistook the unfamiliar 'Abba' for the familiar 'Abū,' while the first syllable of Banyāmīn بن was detached and mistaken for ابن. From these confusions, aided by copyists' errors, sprang the extraordinary names 'Father of Mary' and 'Son of Mary,' as applied to a Bishop. But we may now confidently dismiss 'Abū Maryam' and 'Abū Martām' and 'Ibn Maryam' and 'Abū Miyāmīn,' and substitute in place of these fantastic figures in every case the name of Benjamin, the Coptic Archbishop of Alexandria.

But it is not enough to drive away these phantoms. Admitting that the historical person intended is Benjamin, it is quite impossible to accept the statement that he had any part or lot in the dealings with 'Amr, whether by parley or by battle. The rôle assigned to Benjamin by Aṭ Ṭabarī and those who follow him, like Ibn al Athīr, is ridiculous. He is made into a military chieftain under the orders of Al Muḥauḳis, and Aṭ Ṭabarī, to achieve consistency, has to make Al Muḥauḳis Prince of the Copts. But the whole weight of the Egyptian authorities (Aṭ Ṭabarī was a foreigner, who travelled

in Egypt) is against both suppositions. They agree clearly in recording that for ten years before the conquest, and also for the three years of its duration, Benjamin was in hiding in Upper Egypt. Even if it stood alone, Severus's *Life of Benjamin* would be quite decisive on this point: but all the authorities, from John of Nikiou onwards, on this point are in harmony.

What, then, is the explanation of the Arab writers assigning an active part in the conquest to Benjamin? It is this: they found in early records, or traditions, that the leader of the defenders and the foremost person in arranging terms with the invaders was an Archbishop of Alexandria, and they found that after the conquest and in all Coptic story, the only recognised Archbishop of Alexandria was called Benjamin. Hence the two persons were confounded—Benjamin was given the part played by Cyrus. But, lest this explanation be regarded as *obscurum per obscurius*, we now come to the crucial question, who was Al MuḲaukis?

(3) *Al MuḲaukis*. While practically all the Arabic authorities speak of a person called by this title, it is very noticeable that in the list I have given no name, as distinguished from the title, occurs in Balādhurī, Aṭ Ṭaharī, Eutychius, Severus, or even Ibn al Athīr. Al Wakidī, it is true, calls him 'son of Rāfil,' but that is merely one of those fanciful names given to kings, magicians, etc., of prehistoric times by Arab romance. It is not till we get to the year 1200 A.D. that we find Al MuḲaukis named as *George, son of Mīnā*, by Abū .ālīḥ, while his contemporary Yākūt gives the name as *George, son of Ḳarḳab the Greek*. This difference points to two separate traditions, or two separate sources of information—an inference which is curiously confirmed by the fact that we find a little later, *both paternities* given for the same George in different passages by one and the same writer, Abū'l Mahāsin.

For the moment I will only note that these names are irreconcilable, and that they are of quite late authority. In themselves they can throw no light on the personality of Al MuḲaukis. We must therefore leave them, to see if the identity of the MuḲaukis can be established on an independent basis, and, if so, whether the solution of the problem of identity will enable us to understand the names. Now while Al Balādhurī gives little help to our enquiry, Aṭ Ṭaharī is decidedly misleading. He not only makes the MuḲaukis 'Prince of the Copts,' but he makes him head the surrender to the Arabs from inside the fortress of Babylon. In this

he is doubly mistaken : for, as we shall see, the Muḳauḳis was not a Copt, and he was not in the fortress when it was taken. But whereas Al Balādhurī represents the Muḳauḳis as Governor of Alexandria, Eutychius represents him as Controller of Finance, acting for Heraclius. Eutychius, it must be remembered, was a Melkite, and while admitting that the Muḳauḳis professed the same faith, declares that he was in heart an adherent of the Coptic Communion — an absurd statement fabricated to explain the Muḳauḳis's action.

It is not till we come to Severus that the riddle of the Muḳauḳis's identity is solved : and there the solution is clear and unmistakable. Severus was a Copt : he had no motive to disguise the action of the Muḳauḳis : and above all he wrote his history upon a careful collation of Coptic and other documents, which were preserved in the library at Daīr Macarius, at the monastery of Nahīyā, and in private collections. He is sometimes, no doubt, inaccurate and impossible. Yet he gives a good deal of information not to be found in the early writers I have cited. This is what he says :—

'Cyrus was appointed by Heraclius after the recovery of Egypt from the Persians, to be both Patriarch and Governor of Alexandria.' We know that he held office for ten years, during which he fiercely persecuted the Coptic Church. This time Benjamin describes as *'the ten years during which Heraclius and Al Muḳauḳis were ruling over Egypt'* : yet he names Cyrus as *'the misbelieving Governor who was both Prefect and Patriarch of Alexandria under the Romans.'* Further, whereas Severus represents Benjamin as fleeing before the arrival of Cyrus on the warning of an angel, he also represents Benjamin as saying *'Al Muḳauḳis drove me away.'* There remains then, not the smallest doubt that *Severus indentifies Al Muḳauḳis with Cyrus.*

That Severus is right, and all the other Arabic authorities wrong where they differ from him, I shall endeavour to prove.

Of the few undisputed facts about this period, one is that Cyrus was armed with both civil and ecclesiastical power, and another that as Patriarch and Viceroy of Heraclius he persecuted the Copts for a period of ten years. John of Nikiou speaks of *'the persecution which Heraclius made through all Egypt against the orthodox (Coptic) faith, at the instigation of the Chalcedonian Patriarch Cyrus,'* and Coptic history is full of it. So John's whole story of the conquest assumes the viceroyalty of Cyrus, which is incon-

testable. But Abû Ṣâlih says that the country was placed by Heraclius under the government of *Al Muḳauḳis*; and that Benjamin's flight lasted for ten years, according to the warning of the angel, while *Al Muḳauḳis* was ruling in Egypt. True, Abû Ṣâlih calls Al Muḳauḳis George, son of Mînâ: but of that anon. Al Makîn agrees that Heraclius's Viceroy was Al Muḳauḳis. Al Makrîzî represents the Muḳauḳis as making terms with the Arabs, and his master Heraclius as repudiating the bargain; and Abû 'l Mahâsin follows him in this, as does As Suyûtî. There is, therefore, substantial agreement among the Arab writers as to the office held by the Muḳauḳis, but none as to the name he bore. And if they were the only authorities, the case would not be so strong as it is, though it might well rest on the single evidence of Severus.

There are, however, a few Coptic documents, as well as Arabic, which bear on the question. The Arabic life of Shenoudi, published by Amélineau (*Mon. pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Égypte Chrétienne**) is from a Coptic original written in the 7th century. It contains by way of prophecy these words:—'Then shall Antichrist arise and shall go before the Roman Emperor, and be made Governor with the double office of Ruler and of Bishop. He shall come down to Egypt . . . and he shall make war on the chief of the Bishops at Alexandria . . . who shall fly to the region of Tîman.' This, of course, is a description of Cyrus and his treatment of Benjamin. More important is a fragment in the Bodleian Library (MSS. Copt. Clar. Press, b. 5), which has also been published by Amélineau under the title of the 'Life of Samuel of Kalamûn' (*id. ib.*, t. IV, 2 : Paris, 1895).

This fragment recounts the visit to a monastery of a person who is called ΠΚ&ΥΧΙΟC ΠΕΠCΕΥΤΟ&ΡΧΗΠΙCΚΟΠΟC or 'the Κ&ΥΧΙΟC, the false Archbishop.' He finds the monks all fled, and only the steward left, from whom he learns that Abba Samuel has been denouncing the Archbishop as a 'Chalcedonian Jew, an atheist, unworthy to celebrate or to hold communion with any man.' The 'Impious One,' as the story calls him, cursed the steward, the monastery, and the monks, and departed another way: 'nor has he returned to this day'—a touch which shows that the original MS. was written during the life of Cyrus, and therefore between 631 and 640 A.D. Cherishing wrath in his heart the Archbishop sent a

* *Mém. Miss. Arch. Française*, t. IV, 1, p. 340, *et seq.*, Paris, 1888.

party of soldiers to Kalamûn, where he heard that Samuel was residing. Samuel was brought in chains, and on being challenged for his teaching replied, 'It is good to obey God and His holy Archbishop Benjamin, rather than obey you and your devilish doctrine, O son of Satan, Antichrist, Beguiler!' The ΚΑΥΧΙΟC gave the order to strike Samuel on the mouth, remarking, 'I will teach you how to speak evil: for you render me neither the honour due to me as Archbishop, nor that due to me as Controller of the Revenue of the land of Egypt.' (ΤΑΞΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΞΗ ΔΗΛΩ-
 ΒΙΟΝ ΠΤΕΧΩΡΑ ΠΚΗΛΕ.) It is needless here to pursue the story. There result from it these facts—that in a contemporary * document we have a 'Chalcedonian' (or Melkite) Archbishop, whose authority is disowned by the Copts in favour of their own Archbishop Benjamin, yet who claims in his person the union of civil and ecclesiastical sway over Egypt: further this person is called ΠΚΑΥΧΙΟC.

How exactly this description tallies with the description of the office and function of Cyrus, the Chalcedonian Patriarch and Viceroy of Heraclius, needs no pointing out: but the most interesting thing about this fragment is that here we have the name Muḳauḳis in its original Coptic form, and it is assigned to a person whose identity with Cyrus is no longer open to question.

Yet it is extraordinary that Amélineau misses the true solution. Forced to the conclusion that the Muḳauḳis was a Melkite Patriarch, he has no thought of identifying him with Cyrus: he says, in fact, that it is difficult to place him; that Cyrus must have left Alexandria in 639, 'and perhaps it was at this time that the Muḳauḳis was chosen to replace Cyrus: perhaps even he was the enemy of Cyrus!'

But among the brilliant services which the French savant has rendered to the cause of Egyptian literature, he does not pretend to have made a special study of the Arab conquest. Hence, although his article on the Muḳauḳis ('Fragments Coptes pour servir à l'Histoire de la Conquête de l'Égypte' in *Journal Asiatique*, Oct.—Nov., 1888, pp. 389–409) has a real importance, it does not range over a wide enough field; it does not set out the authorities it cites with due regard to their chronology or their value; and it adopts some theories of previous writers without critical examination. For example, having settled that Al Muḳauḳis was a Melkite Patriarch,

* The actual MS. in the Bodleian is dated by Hyvernât about 10th century.

the objection is raised, 'If this is so, how comes it that the Coptic historians who have written in Arabic—Eutychius, Al Makîn, Abu 'l Farâj, etc.—have said nothing about it?' This objection looks formidable, but vanishes at a touch of criticism. Amélineau's own reply is as follows: 'Je dois répondre naïvement que je n'en sais rien. Des deux derniers, Al Makîn ne consacre que deux lignes au MuḲauḳas, Abu 'l Farâj n'en parle pas. Eutychius lui est favorable, et, s'il savait la chose, peut-être la lui a-t-il pardonnée en faveur de sa conduite postérieure; s'il ne savait pas, c'est une raison péremptoire pour qu'il n'en parlât pas. D'ailleurs, . . . il écrivait longtemps après les événements, au moins 600 ans.'

Eutychius a Copt, and writing at least 600 years after the conquest! It is a curious statement. For of the three historians named by Amélineau, Abû 'l Farâj was not a Copt at all, nor even an Egyptian, but a Syrian. A second, Eutychius, was not a Copt, but actually Melkite Patriarch, which accounts for his being 'favourable' to the MuḲauḳis: and Eutychius wrote, not 'at least 600 years,' but less than 300 years, after the conquest. Al Makîn was a Christian, and may have been a Copt; but he is a late authority, and by no means original in his researches. It thus appears how utterly baseless is Amélineau's objection concerning his so-called Coptic writers. There is, however, one Coptic historian of early date and of capital importance, who wrote in Arabic, and whose evidence, as I have shown, would, even if unsupported, establish the identity of the MuḲauḳis beyond discussion. I mean Severus of Al 'Ushmûnain, whom Amélineau does not quote. Briefly, however, I may now give Amélineau's conclusions as follows:—

- (1) The story of Mahomet's mission to the MuḲauḳis in 627 is a myth.
- (2) The MuḲauḳis was named George, son of Mînâ, and the 'Ibn Ḳarḳab,' which should be written, as Karabacek shows, 'Ibn Farḳab,' denotes a second name = Παρκάβιος.
- (3) The MuḲauḳis was of Coptic race on one side, if not on both. He was in the Emperor's service, and was originally a Melkite by faith.
- (4) He was a Melkite Patriarch, but his date can only be conjectured.
- (5) The name MuḲauḳis was a nickname derived from *καύχον* or *καύχιον*, a small bronze coin used from the time of the Justins.

We now come to an extremely interesting contribution to the subject made by the learned Portuguese scholar, F. M. E. Pereira (*Vida do Abba Samuel do Mosteiro do Kalamon: Versão Ethiopica*: Lisboa, 1894). This translation of the Ethiopic 'Life of Samuel' is enriched with valuable notes and essays, among which is a short treatise on the Muḳauḳis (pp. 41–53). Like Amélineau, whom he largely follows, the writer does not cite the MS. of Severus, and he does not accurately classify or appraise his authorities: but he shows how closely the Ethiopic tallies with the Coptic story, though very singularly—like nearly all our authorities—it refrains from naming the chief actor in the episode, whom it calls 'the Governor,' and whom the Coptic fragment calls ΠΚ&τΧΙΟC, and Archbishop. Pereira's conclusions differ somewhat from Amélineau's and are as follows:—

- (1) The author of the persecution was a person known by the title of ΠΚ&τΧΙΟC or Al Muḳauḳas.
- (2) He was a Greek by origin.
- (3) He was Patriarch of Alexandria, Governor of Egypt, and Controller of the Finance.
- (4) His proper name was Cyrus.
- (5) The name Muḳauḳas is derived from καύχων or καύχιον.

As to the identity of Al Muḳauḳais with Cyrus only one more word need be said. Amélineau quotes the Coptic Synaxarium under 8 Tubah—the day of Benjamin's death—as follows:—'Benjamin suffered great evil at the hands of Al Muḳauḳas; he fled to Upper Egypt during ten full years *The Muḳauḳas was the head of the faith of Chalcedon, and had been made Ruler and Patriarch over Egypt.*' The Ethiopic Synaxarium is in complete accord with this. It is given in full by Pereira, and contains these words (text p. 173, tr. p. 180), 'The Muḳauḳas, that is to say the Governor and Archbishop of the city of Alexandria and all the land of Egypt.' It is true that this Synaxarium seems to be in a 15th century MS. (*Catalogue des MSS. Éthiopiens de la Bib. Nat.*, 1877, p. 152). But it is remarkable to find with what extraordinary accuracy the true tradition is preserved in these office books of the two Churches (which were, of course, in very close relation), while the secular writers for the most part confused and darkened the story, and finally lost the truth.

But that Cyrus was Al Muḳauḳis and that Al Muḳauḳis was

Cyrus, appointed Viceroy and Archbishop of Alexandria by Heraclius, may now be regarded as finally settled. It is curious that John of Nikiou never uses any title corresponding to Al MuḲauḳis or ΠΚΛΤΧΙΟC, but his whole history of the period teems with evidence that Cyrus the Patriarch was the author of the ten years' persecution and the Governor of Egypt. To the objection that the MuḲauḳis is spoken of as Governor of Egypt in 627, when Mahomet sent his letter claiming submission to Islām, the answer is easy. It is the plainest of truths that not a single Arab writer who uses the term Al MuḲauḳis has any conception of its meaning or origin; and the use of the term, as applied to the Governor of Egypt in 627, is a mere anachronism. The Arab chroniclers had two facts before them: (1) that Mahomet sent a mission to the Governor of Egypt in 627, and (2) that the Governor of Egypt at the time of the conquest—the man who occupies the most prominent position in its annals—was called Al MuḲauḳis. They wrongly inferred that the earlier Governor was called by the same title, and this confusion between the two was so easy as to be almost inevitable to minds naturally uncritical. There is no ground, therefore, for rejecting, as Amélineau does, the whole incident of the mission, an incident as well attested as any in the history of Islām.

It remains now to explain how Cyrus comes to be called 'George, son of Mînâ' or 'George, son of Ḳarkab.' The explanation is very simple. John of Nikiou, as we have seen, mentions one George the Prefect, whom 'Amr ordered to construct a bridge over the canal at Ḳaliûb; and it is highly probable that the same George was in command of the Fortress of Babylon during the siege. I think, therefore, that George was a historical person who occupied a prominent position at the time of the Saracen invasion—and that he is in fact the same person as we have encountered under the guise of Al 'Ughairij; and that Arab writers have confounded him with Cyrus. Whether this George were 'son of Mînâ' or 'son of Ḳarkab,' in my judgment cannot be settled, and matters next to nothing; but I am unable to think with Karabacek that George's father bore both names, though it may be that 'Ḳarkab' should be written 'Farkab,' and 'Farkab' stands for παρκάβιος. The word قرقب occurs far too late in Arabic literature to represent anything but a blunder or a series of blunders in copying. After showing the necessity of severing Cyrus from the false names which have grown

upon him, it does not seem possible to argue minutely about the original name which 'Karkab' may have represented, or even whether the two totally different names ascribed to George's father are to be regarded as true together, or as survivals of alternative traditions, or whether, as is very possible, Cyrus was son of Karkab, and George son of Mfnâ.

The meaning and origin of the title Al Muḳauḳis are more important. Late authorities like *Damîrî's Zoological Dictionary*, (c. 1400), and the *Kamûs*, which follows him (19th century) are cited to show that the term المقوقس means a ringdove, and various legends are told in explanation of the title: but it can hardly be questioned that this derivation is a mere inversion of the fact that in more modern times the name Al Muḳauḳis has been given to the ringdove as a playful nickname. Nor can Karabacek's conjecture, that the term is derived from μεγαυχής, be accepted. Apart from the fact that there seems no evidence for the existence of any such title, the very closeness of the correspondence between the Greek and the Arabic form is really fatal to the theory. It is hardly conceivable that the Arabs should have so exactly reproduced such a Greek form without mutilation or change.

We have seen that the title Al Muḳauḳis occurs in the early Coptic form ΠΚ&ϣΧΙΟC, and that Amélineau and Pereira agree in deriving the term from a Byzantine word said to signify a small hollow piece of bronze money, and in thinking that the name was given to Cyrus in derision of his rôle as Controller of the Finance, or Taxes, or Tribute. This explanation, though very far-fetched, might be more convincing if there were any clear evidence for the use of καύχον or καύχιον in Egypt or elsewhere at this time or any other. As far as I know, there is none. Where does Amélineau find these forms at all? He refers to Du Cange, who gives καυκίον as = a little bowl or cup, and one instance of its use in the sense of a hollow coin, where the reference is cited as 'Nov. 105 Justin.' Du Cange is careful to add that the reading καυκίον in that passage is doubtful and may stand for κοκκίον. This seems Amélineau's warrant for the existence of this supposed 'piece of Byzantine money in use since the time of the Justins'! Pereira adopts this etymology without question:— 'Esta palavra, que tambem se escreve καύχον e καύχιον, é o nome da uma moeda cavada, em uso no imperio Byzantino, desde o tempo

do imperador Justino' (p. 53); but it rests on very slender evidence if any, and must be rejected.

So far, then, there seems no satisfactory explanation of the title Al MuḲauḳis; and perhaps the problem is hopeless. But I venture to offer two possible solutions for what they are worth.

(1) The Arabic writers who give the vocalisation of Al MuḲauḳis write *المُقَوِّس* which is also the vocalisation for the late word in the sense of ringdove, and it may have been so written to produce identity. On the other hand, the Ethiopic is very clear in writing 'MuḲauḳās,' and there can be no doubt that the term passed into Ethiopic at a very early date. Now, not a single author, ancient or modern, who has dealt with this problem has asked the question: Where did Cyrus come from? What was his origin? Remember he was not an Egyptian, nor even a Constantinopolitan; and surely there is no question that would have been heard more often among the eager and curious crowds of Alexandria than this: 'Where does he come from?' And the answer would have been, *ἐκ τοῦ Καυκάσου* — *Καυκάσιος*: for Cyrus was translated by Heraclius from the See of Phasis in the Caucasus. It is, therefore, extremely probable that he was at once called *ὁ καυκάσιος* in Greek, and this Greek form may have taken shape in Coptic either as *ΠΚΑΥΧΑCIOC* or *ΠΚΑΥΧIOC*, giving origin in its less corrupted form in the 7th or 8th century to the Arabic 'MuḲauḳas,' and surviving in the 10th century in the more corrupted *ΠΚΑΥΧIOC* of the MS. in the Bodleian Library.

Though not free from objection, this explanation is at least based on historical fact: and if the change of *ΚΑΥΚΑCIOC* into *ΚΑΥΧIOC* be thought too violent even for two centuries of Coptic speech and script, I may urge that Phasis was in Colchis, and that Cyrus might also with equal propriety have been called *ΠΚΟΛΧIOC* (the Colchian) from which to *ΠΚΑΥΧIOC* the transference is very easy. At any rate, I am inclined to trace the fact that Cyrus is called Ibn Ḳarḳab *al Yūnānī* to some suspicion or reminiscence of his origin outside the ordinary limits of the Roman Empire, though I make no pretence of explaining the term Ibn Ḳarḳab.

(2) The other explanation is as follows:—

In Du Cange's *Glossary* will be found the word *καῦχος*, in the sense *amatus*, *amasius* (with the corresponding feminine *καύχα*, *concubina*) connoting a common form of vice. From this word it would

be quite simple and natural to coin, if it did not exist, the adjective *ὁ καύχιος*, denoting a person addicted to that form of vice, *παιδεραστής* in fact. This term *ὁ καύχιος* would go straight into the Coptic as ΠΚΑΥΧΙΟC, the adjective unaltered and the article changing, exactly on the analogy of ΠΑCΕΒΗC for *ὁ ἀσεβής*, which is found more than once in the very document in which ΠΚΑΥΧΙΟC occurs, and is there applied to the same person, Cyrus. But, it will be said, this is an infamous imputation on Cyrus, quite without warrant in history. Granted; but that is no proof that the Copts did not make it. On the contrary, it is extremely probable that they did. The ten years' persecution of Cyrus was not a mere suspension of justice or enactment of harsh laws: it was a persecution by stripes, imprisonment, torture and death: it aimed at destroying the religion of the Copts and the lives of those who would not abandon it. They had little or no power of active resistance; but in their hearts was the bitterest hatred, which found vent in savage denunciation of the enemy. In this very document Cyrus is called 'The Impious One,' 'Jew,' 'Atheist,' 'Son of Satan,' 'Antichrist'; his doctrine is 'devilish,' his faith is 'defiled,' and he is 'more accursed than the devil and his demons.' Is it likely that, when the religion of Cyrus was assailed in terms like these, his moral character would escape censure? It seems to me quite certain that his private life was the mark of the same unmeasured abuse; and if this be granted, nothing is more likely than that he was charged with the vice which is suggested by the term *ὁ καύχιος*, however ill-founded the charge may have been.

These two solutions, which I have given, seem independent and incompatible: but I would suggest that they may really be closely connected. For it is easy to imagine both that Cyrus was originally called *ὁ Καυχάσιος* or *ὁ Κολχικός* (or *Κόλχιος*), and that the quick wit of the Egyptians caught up the name and transformed it into the deadly epithet *ὁ καύχιος*. By a reckless jest the term, purely geographical in origin, was transformed into a foul invective; and the name has lasted for centuries after its real significance was totally forgotten.

THE TOMB OF MENTUHEP I (?).
AT DÊR. EL. BAËRI, THEBES.

By W. L. NASH, F.S.A.

This tomb was discovered in 1898 by Mr. Howard Carter, Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt. The discovery was due to accident : Mr. Carter was returning at night to Dêr. el. BaËri when his horse stumbled into a depression in the sand which had not existed before. Hence the name Bab el Hosan, "*the tomb of the horse*," by which this tomb is commonly known among the Arabs. An inspection of the ground the next morning showed that there was a shallow depression extending from a point about twenty yards from the south-east corner of the house erected by the Egypt Exploration Fund, and running due east for twenty-five yards.

In 1900 Mr. Carter commenced excavating, and at a depth of three feet from the surface came to the stone-lined sides of a passage sloping downwards from east to west, which extended close up to the south-east angle of the house ; its floor, at the deepest part, being about 56 feet below the general surface of the ground (see Plan, Plate I). The passage was ended by the mud-brick sealing of a doorway, which was quite untouched (see Plate II). Beyond this doorway was a broad passage, cut in the rock, sloping downwards, 164 yards in length, terminating in a domed chamber measuring 19 ft. 8 ins. \times 26 ft. 3 ins. In this chamber was found a sandstone statue, seven feet high, of a seated figure (Plate III) wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, the hands crossed over the breast, and clothed from the shoulders to the knees in a short tunic, the legs and feet left bare. The crown was painted red, the face and body black, the eyeballs white, and the tunic white. It was found lying on its side, wrapped in numerous folds of fine linen cloth. The head was broken off at the neck, no doubt whilst being lowered into the tomb, but the figure was otherwise perfect. There is no inscription whatever on it. The other objects found in the chamber were : an empty XIth dynasty coffin, inscribed with the usual prayers for all good things to be given to the deceased, but without any name ; the bones of portions of animals, including the complete skeletons of two ducks (no doubt funerary offerings) ; a number of red earthenware jars and shallow bowls ; palm-fibre

rope and wooden rollers, used for lowering the heavy statue into the tomb. In the centre of the chamber the ground appeared to be hollow, and excavation revealed a shaft descending to a depth of over 100 feet below the ground level of the chamber, and therefore nearly 300 feet below the surface of the desert. The labour of clearing this shaft was very severe, the space being very confined, and the heat intense. From the bottom of this shaft opened a burial chamber, which had never been completed. Its door was closed. It contained only a few very roughly made wooden boats, and an earthenware pot.

So far nothing had been found that gave any clue to the identity of the person for whom this fine tomb was excavated; but further search revealed a shallow depression in the passage just outside the chamber—the commencement of a shaft which had never been completed—and in this was found a small wooden box made of sycamore wood, measuring about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length; 2 inches in width; and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth, on which, very badly written in a pale blue colour, was the following inscription, in which Mr. Percy Newberry was the first to decipher the name of Mentuhetep.

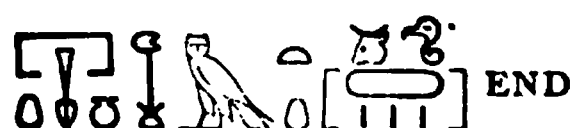
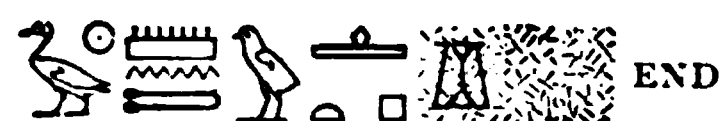
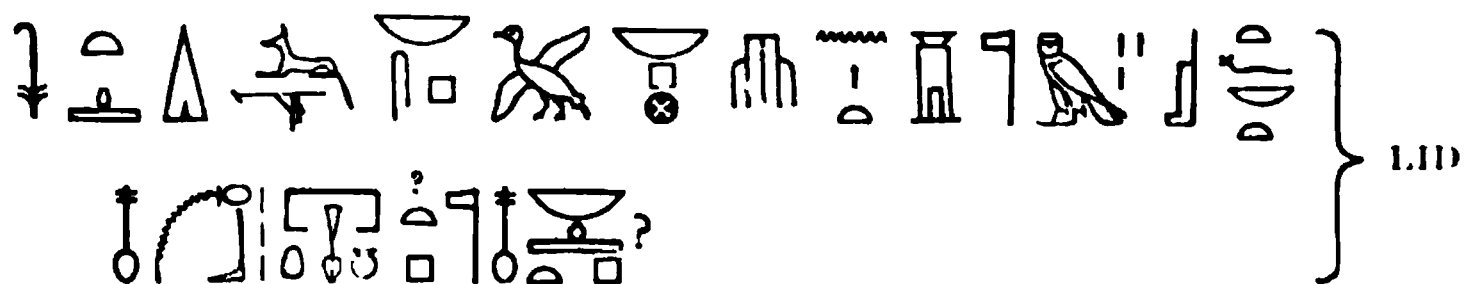
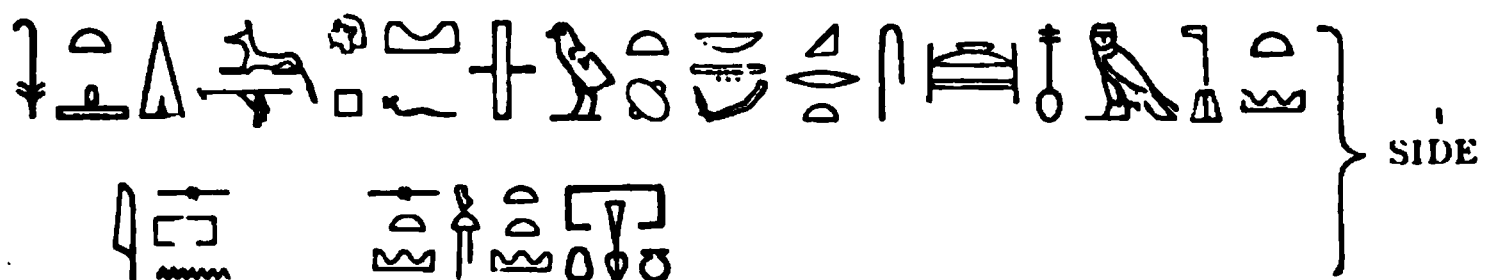


PLATE I.

Proc. Soc. Arch. Arch., Jan., 1901.

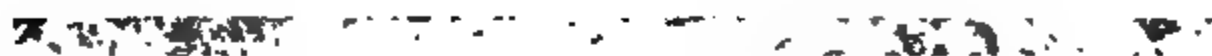
1

PLAN OF TOMB OF MENTUHERPES I. (?)

- A.—E. E. F. House.
B.—Entrance to Tomb.
C.—Chamber of Offerings.

PLATE II.

Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., June, 1901.



ENTRANCE TO TOMB, WITH ITS MUD-BRICK SEALING.

The bricks wanting from the upper part were removed by Mr. Carter in order to enter the tomb.

PLATE III.

Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., June, 1901.

STATUE FOUND IN THE CHAMBER OF OFFERINGS.


Let a royal offering be given to Anubis on his hill within Ut, Lord of the sacred land, for a beautiful burial in the necropolis of the Western desert with per-kheru offerings.

Let a royal offering be given to Osiris, Lord of Busiris, Within the West, Lord of Abydos, in all his good and pure places for per-kheru offerings to the devoted one.

Let a royal offering be given to Anubis, Lord of Sep, Lord of Pe, within the temple in all his good and pure places for per-kheru offerings for the good god Neb-hetep?

Sa Ra Mentuhetep.

Per-kheru offerings, thousands of oxen and geese and bread.

Mr. Newberry suggests to me that the reading  in the inscription on the lid of the box is *very* uncertain, and that the Mentuhetep whose name is given on one end of the box may be the well-known Neb-Kheru-Ra, Mentuhetep; whose tomb is mentioned in the "Abbott" Papyrus as being in the neighbourhood of Dêr el-Bahri.

If the finding of this box so inscribed may be taken as evidence that the tomb was made for Mentuhetep (whether the 1st or 3rd king of that name), the question arises, where is the king's body? It is true that tombs were often made for people who never occupied them, either they were far off when they died, or their successors adopted some other burial place for them, etc.; but this tomb contains funerary offerings, and one can hardly suppose that such offerings would have been made in the chamber of a tomb which did not contain, and never had contained, the body of the deceased. On the other hand, if the body had ever been placed in the burial chamber at the bottom of the shaft, it would surely be there now, for if it had at some time been removed, the robbers would never have taken the trouble to fill up the shaft, and to rebuild the door-sealing. It seems probable, or at all events possible, that if the rubbish was entirely cleared from the passage outside the doorway, that yet another shaft might be discovered, with, let us hope, more satisfactory results.

I am indebted to Mr. Howard Carter for assistance in preparing these notes, and for the illustrations which accompany them.

A SALE OF LAND IN THE REIGN OF PHILOPATOR.

BY F. LL. GRIFFITH.

In 1891 Professor Revillout contributed to the *Proceedings* a very long paper,* dealing with a papyrus of the reign of Philopator, on which the demotic text was accompanied by a docket in Greek. Photographs of the two texts were taken on that occasion for the Society, and as they were not used by M. Revillout, Mr. Rylands has now asked me to edit them for publication.† The Greek text is important for the record of taxation, and the Palæographical Society selected it as a worthy subject for one of their fine plates, chiefly no doubt because of its rare and early date. The demotic text is of a well-known type, but presents some points of particular interest in connexion with the Greek docket. Within narrow limits there is some variety of expression even in the best established formulæ, and the varieties are interesting and throw light on the meaning. Moreover, apart from certain corrections to be made in the former translation, a transliteration into modern characters of a demotic legal document may be useful, as indicating the composition of the obscure demotic groups.‡ Mr. B. P. Grenfell has kindly helped me with and checked the copy and translation of the Greek text, so that these may be taken as thoroughly trustworthy.

The demotic text may be transliterated as follows :—

1. (a) rnp xii .I pr n Pr-'' Ptwrmys s' Ptwrmys erme Brnyge

* *Un papyrus bilingue du temps de Philopator. P.S.B.A., XIV, 60, 120, 229.*

† The Greek text being well facsimiled elsewhere, is not now reproduced. There must be an endorsement giving the names of the witnesses, but this has not been photographed. This paper was written and sent in in the summer of 1900, but the preparation of the plates has delayed the printing of it.

‡ The two papyri, Casati and Grey, are respectively the demotic original and a very full Greek abstract of a sale contract in the same class as the present one, and are a valuable guide to the meaning of the formulæ. The Casati papyrus in the Bibliothèque Nationale is facsimiled in YOUNG'S *Hieroglyphics*, Pl. 31-2 (*cf.* REVILLOUT, *Chrestomathie Dem.*, 62; BR., *Thes.*, 880). The Grey Papyrus is No. III in KENYON'S *Catalogue*, I, p. 44.

(b) n' ntr.w mnḥ e 'T'nws s' 'T'nws n w'b 'Rgsntrws erme n' ntr.w
 nt nhm (c) erme n' ntr.w sn n' ntr.w mnḥ n' ntr.w mr yt n t'
 rnp.t mḥ 11.t e Qny'n ta Tmsts fy tn (ḥt?) (d) m bh 'Rsyn t' mr
 sn e Ymn' ta Qrygns n w'b n Brngse (sic) t' nb n p' n'se
 (e) t' mnḥe.t e Nygnr s' Bgys n w'b n p' tš Ne Ptwrmys p' ntr erme
 n' ntr.w (f) mr yt zt Wynn Nyqn zty m(?)n-f P'-ty - Hns s' 'Thny'n
 mw.t - f T'-šre.t - Mn

2. (a) n rm/ Pr(?) - qrq (?) Thwt - 'w s' P'-šre - Mn mw.t - f T' šre
 te - k mty ḥ't - y n p' ḥt p'e yḥ nt (b) 'r st xī $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ yḥ n (?) st xī $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ n (?)
 st xī $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ yḥ 'n ḥn' p'e - w 'w n ḥ (?) nt ḥr p' ḥtp - ntr 'Mn P' št 'p . . . n
 n' 'y.w n p' (c) 'mnt Ne p' tš Pr-Ḥt - Ḥr nt e p'e - f rs p' yḥ 'Mnys s'
 Glygrts mḥt p' yḥ (d) n P' - šre - Mn s' Plwrws ybt p' tme (?) nt e - w zt
 n-f P' - Mktr, 'mnt p'e ky yḥ nt 'r st 111 yḥ ḥn' (e) p'e - w 'w n ḥ (?) e n'
 wyt.w 'wt - w r n' (?) hn.w (?) n p' yḥ nt 'r st xī $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ yḥ ḥn' n'e - w 'w
 n ḥ (?) nt ḥry tr - w (f) te - y s n - k nte - k s p'e - k yḥ nt 'r st xī $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ yḥ
 ḥn' n'e - w 'w n ḥ (?) nt ḥry p'e šp - y swn.t - f t.t - k e - f mḥ

3. (a) 't sp (?) nb ḥ't - y mt n.'m - f mn mte - y mt.t nb p' t' e 'r n - k
 rn - f nn e rḥ rm nb p' t' 'nk mty(?) (b) 'r šḥ n.'m - f ble(?) - k θ p'
 ḥrw r ḥry p' nt e - f 'y n - k tb.t - f rn - y rn n rḥ nb p' t' e - y ty w' - f r - r - k
 (c) mte - y ty w'b - f n - k r šḥ nb nb mt nb p' t' n ss nb nte - k
 n'e - f šḥ.w n'e - f w 'y nb nt e - w n'm - w šḥ nb r.'r - w r.r - f
 (d) ḥn' šḥ nb r.'r - w n - y r.r - f ḥn' šḥ nb nt e - y m'.k n.'m - w rn - f
 nte - k st ḥn' p'e - w hp nte - k p' nt e - y m'.k n.'m - f rn - f p (e) 'nh p' ty
 'ḥ' rt nt e - w ty - s m - s' - k n p' 'y wpy rn p' hp n p' šḥ nt ḥry r.'r - y
 n - k r ty (f) 'r - y s e - y 'r - f 't 'r t nb mt.t nb p' t' erme - k šḥ Hns
 Thwt s' Ḥr nt šḥ rn n' w'b.w 'Mn - R' - stn - ntr.w n' ntr.w sn.w

4. n' ntr.w mnḥ.w n' ntr.w mr yt p' v s'.w .

1. "Year XII, Tybi, Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Berenike the Beneficent Gods ;

"Atanus (?) son of Atanus (?) being priest of Alexander, and the Gods that Save, and the Fraternal Gods, and the Beneficent Gods, and the Father-loving Gods, for the second year ; Kenian (?), daughter of Temestos (?), being Basket-bearer before Arsinoe the Brother-loving ; Imna (?), daughter of Perigenes (?), being priestess of Berenike, the Mistress of Might, the Beneficent ; Nicanor, son of Bacis (?), being priest in the Thebaid of Ptolemy the God and the Father-loving Gods.

“Hath said a Greek, Nikon, who is called Petechons, son of Athenion, and whose mother (was) Tshemmin 2. to man of Pi-gerg (?), Thoteu, son of Pshemmin, whose mother is Tshe

“Thou hast satisfied my heart with the money of my land—which makes eleven and a half and an eighth aruras of land, as (?) eleven and a half and two sixteenths aruras, as eleven and a half and an eighth of land again—together with (the right ?) to their equivalent (?)—which is upon the divine property of Amen, the farm of Ophis (?) in the inhabited parts (?) on the west of Thebes (in) the nome of Pathyris, whose south is the land of Ammonius, son of Kallicrates, north the land of Pshemmin, son of Philolaus (?), east the village which is called the Magdol, west my other land which makes three aruras of land with their equivalent (?) the (boundary ?) stelæ being between them and (?) the neighbours (?) of (?) the land which makes $11\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$ aruras of land with their equivalent (?) that (is written) above, all.

“I have given it to thee, it is thine; it is (henceforth) thy land which makes $11\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$ aruras of land with their equivalent (?) that (is written) above. I have received its price at thy hand, full 3. without any remainder. My heart is satisfied with it. I have no thing (?) on earth to do to thee in its name. Not shall any man on earth be able, (nor) I likewise, to have power over it without thee from to-day onward. He that shall come to thee on account of it in my name (or) in the name of any man on earth, I will cause him to depart from thee; and I will purge it for thee in regard to any writing, any deed (?), any word of the world at all times. Thine are its writings, its deeds (?), (in) every place in which they are. Every writing that they have made with regard to it, together with every writing that they have made for me with regard to it, together with every writing that I have claim to in its name, thine are they with their right; thou art he in whose name I have claim to it.

“The oath, the causing to stand that they shall put upon thee in the place of justice, in the name of the right of the writing that (is written) above that I have made to thee to cause me to make it,* I will do it without making any deed (?), any word of the earth with thee.

* The technical meaning of expressions here and elsewhere must be settled by a wider study and comparison of many documents. I have endeavoured to fix the reading and the literal meaning, which are often different from those hitherto imagined, but there are still uncertainties in detail.

בשנת ה'תקנ"ב חמשה עשר אלף
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ה'תקנ"ב חמשה עשר אלף

"Wrote (it) Chesthout, son of Hor, who writes in the name of the priests of Amonrasonther, the Brother Gods, 4. the Beneficent Gods and the Father-loving Gods, of the five orders.

1. Year XII, 209 (?), B.C.* This is reckoned from the 1st Thoth following the accession of the king, according to the ancient Egyptian practice (BORCHARDT, *Ä.Z.*, 1899, 92). The Greek docket, on the other hand, has "year XIII," the year for revenue and taxation purposes being at this time reckoned from the accession itself, "the first year" of a king being the portion between his accession and the 1st Thoth following. See SMYLEY's review of Kenyon's *Palaeography*, in *Hermathena*, 1899.

mnḥ. The demotic form of the proper name rendered in Greek *Ἰμνονχης* (BR. *Samml. d. g. Eigennamen*, p. 11, No. 47) shows that this is to be transliterated *mnḥ*, not *mnš*. Cf. *Stories of High Priests of Memphis (Khamuas)*, p. 152, note to l. 6.

'*T'nws*, or '*T'nw*y (?). That the last sign is *s* seems to be shown by the writing '*Mnys*, Ammonius, in l. 2. REVILLOUT (*P.S.B.A.*, XIV, 60) interprets this as "Adonaïos"; in another contract of the same date at Bologna he read the priest's name as "Athenaeus" (*Rev. Ég.*, III, 2, note 5). Atanus is, of course, only a conventional rendering.

rnḫ.t. Not very clear, but in the Berlin contract of the same date (BR., *Gram. Dem.*, Pl. V, l. 2 = *Nouv. Chrest.*, p. 4) *n mḥ rnḫ.t II.t* seems the probable reading. Grenfell notes that "the second year" occurs similarly in Greek (MAHAFFY, *Pet. Pap.*, I, XIV, 4), so the reading is assured.

Qny'n : REV. "Gennaia." *Tmsts* : REV. "Themistius."

Ymn' : so also in the Berlin contract. The name *Ἰαμνεῖα* is given by the Greek contract (*Pet. Pap.*, II, XLVII) of the XIIth year of this reign; there, however, she is called *κατηφορος* of Arsinoe. One would expect *Ἰαμνα* as the equivalent: cf. the man's name *Ἰαμνος* in *Steph. Byz.*

Perigenes. REV. read "Kalligenes" with Q, which is perhaps right, though "Kalli" seems rendered by "Gry" in l. 2. In the Berlin contract there seems to be Qhrg . . . pointing perhaps to "Charigenes."

* BOUDIER's *Contrat inédit du temps de Philopator* (1897) of the 9th year, relates to part of the same property, as he himself notes.

Brngse : An example of the numerous careless mistakes that are met with in the names, especially in these long protocols.


"Priest of Berenike, the Mistress of Might, the Beneficent" is an unusually free rendering of ἀθλοφορος Βερενικης Εὐεργετιδος. Berenike II (of Cyrene), the king's mother, was murdered by Sosibius with the connivance of Philopator himself.

"Ptolemy the God"; a regular designation of Soter. The priestly title here is an unusual form of that of the priesthood of Soter in Ptolemais.

st Wynn (?). The double *n* is curious. The verbal form *stm-f* is past in ordinary demotic, and there is no need to take it otherwise here.

sty m(?) n-f: The *m(?)* is superfluous, probably a duplication of the *n*.


2. *Pr-Qrq (?)* *Pr* is doubtful; cf. *Pr-Hthr.* in l. 2, "Qrq" is Revillout's reading, but there seems to be a superfluous stroke beneath the *r*, and the *q* is not certain. This village name is therefore very doubtful.

Thwt-'w  *Λ @ Λ* "Thoth cometh." Θοτεως in the Gk., l. 8. For 'w, cf. HESS, *Stne*, p. 8; *Khamuas*, p. 84, etc.


P'-šre-Mn, to be read as *P'-šre-(n-)Mn*, Ψεμμινις *P'-šre(-n)* being in Coptic πϣεν-. It will be observed that, as usually in Ptolemaic writing, the little words *n* (π) and *r* (ε) are very frequently omitted in this text. But the *n* after *šre* is often not written even in demotic of the Roman period.

T'-šre . . . or *T'-šre.t ?*

te-k mty h't-y, etc., ἡυδοκησας με της τιμης. *Pap. Grey* (*B.M. Cat. I*, p. 46, l. 6).

h'ty . The *y* following the *t* is reduced to a short line: cf. l. 3, *h't-y mt n.'m-f*. The precise construction of these formulæ is often only to be ascertained by comparing their fuller spelling in documents of the later Ptolemaic or of the Roman period.

In most texts the formula runs "by the money, price (*swn.t*) of my land," etc.

yh. Eg.  *yh.t* (fem.) becomes in Coptic ειωζε : ιοζη (masc.), whence my transliteration *yh.* Cf. REV., *Nouv. Chrest. Dem.*, 138, note 1, for a proof of the reading. The employments of the Group 12 leave no doubt that this is the equivalent: probably it

represents an abbreviation $\begin{smallmatrix} \triangleright & | \\ | & | & | \end{smallmatrix}$; in the Middle Kingdom 'h.t is sometimes written $\frac{\Sigma}{III}$.

st yh. In Eg., from the earliest times, we have 'h.t st.t x, "land aruras x" (*P.S.B.A.*, XIV, 412); demotic, however, writes st x (n) yh, "x aruras of land."

The subdivision of the arura in demotic proceeds by halving. Revillout recognized this, but Eisenlohr (*P.S.B.A.*, XIV, 342) first pointed out the true reading of some of the combinations of fractions occurring in this papyrus. Cf. also the table of the Egyptian field-measures printed opposite to page 411 of Vol. XIV.

'w n h, "size of measurement," is Revillout's reading (*P.B.S.A.*, XIV, 229) for this often recurring phrase. In later contracts the group may be written more clearly than it is here. The expression might be interpreted to mean the right to "its equivalent in size," i.e., in case the boundaries were disturbed by the inundation or otherwise, and the piece of land actually described in the contract were destroyed, or altered, or taken by the sovereign for other purposes. But this is mere conjecture.

hlp-ntr, ἱεροὶ προσοδοί, $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{⌈} & \text{⌋} \\ | & | & | \end{smallmatrix}$ in *Can. dem.*, ll. 73-4 and *Ros.*

'Mn P'-št-'p . . . (?) Πεστεμενωφίς in the Greek, l. 11, agreeing with P'-št-'mn-'py, "the farm ($\begin{smallmatrix} \text{⌈} & \text{⌋} \\ | & | & | \end{smallmatrix}$ Σ) of Amen in Ophis," in Boudier's papyrus.

n n' 'y.w n p' 'Mnt Ne, translated εν τη Λιβυη των περι Θηβαι, *Pap. Grey*, I, 8 = *Casati*, l. 9, εν τοῖς Μεμνονείοις (sc. ταφοῖς cf. *Pap. Grey*, l. 42) following, is probably an additional phrase.


tme (?) A group which would seem to be equivalent to Eg. $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{⌈} & \text{⌋} \\ | & | & | \end{smallmatrix}$ spelt out tme in Roman papyri = †με. Cf. the equivalent sh n tme (?) of κωμογραμματεὺς in *MAR.*, *Abydos*, II, Pl. 38, l. 4.


nte-k s, *ΠΤ&KC, but not with this nominal construction in Coptic, except in Sah. ΟΥΠΤ&ΙϢ, ΟΥΠΤ&ΚϢ, ΞΠΤ&ϢϢΟΥ, etc., St. § 316.

p'e-kyh pe, ΠΕΚΕΙΩΞΕ ΠΕ.

3. e 'r n-k hardly the preposition of *Khamuas*, p. 203 note.

nn e rh with nominal subject ΠΝΕϢ St. §445 (*Khamuas*, p. 106, note).


'*nk mty*(?) , omitted in some contracts.

'*r sh*. Boh., $\epsilon\rho\gamma\iota\gamma\iota$ (cf. *Khamuas*, p. 184, note, l. 6), Eg. .

n θ n p' hrw r hry is the fuller form, as it were $\chi\iota\pi\pi\omicron\omicron\tau$ $\epsilon\rho\rho\Delta\iota$, but this use of $\epsilon\rho\rho\Delta\iota$ for "onward" is not found in Coptic.

ty-w'b-f, $\tau\beta\beta\omicron\gamma$: $\tau\omicron\tau\beta\omicron\gamma$; but with a special legal meaning.

sh nb . . . nh. The word not transcribed is that rendered, following Hess, '*ne-t*(?) in *Khamuas*, p. 108, note to l. 7. It may be *qnbe.t*, meaning "legal process" (?).

'*y*, $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{I}$, Eg.  *pr*, "house," "chamber," "office," not merely "place": for the reading see SPIEGELBERG, *Ä.Z.*, 1899, 28, *Khamuas*, pp. 87 (*pr*), 88 ('*y*).

r.'r-w; past relative, *Khamuas*, p. 94, note, l. 20.

m'.k. Apparently the first person singular of the pseudo-participle; the same form is used also in the feminine.

p' ty 'h'. etc. Later texts have *p' 'h' rt*, "the standing on foot" which REV., *l.c.*, 230, takes in the sense of "judicial investment" with the property. *ty 'h'* is $\tau\Delta\epsilon\omicron$. Perhaps it only means "standing, being made to stand" or "appear" in the court of law. SPIEGELBERG, *Ä.Z.*, 1899, 46, renders it "bail."

m-s', see SPIEGELBERG, *l.c.*

Hns-Thwt. $\chi\epsilon\sigma\theta\omega\nu\theta\eta\varsigma$ in MAHAFFY, *Pet. Pap.*, preserves well the ν of $\Theta\omega\omicron\tau\tau$, cf. $\chi\epsilon\sigma\theta\omega\theta\eta\varsigma$ ib., and the Upper Egyptian form $\chi\epsilon\sigma\theta\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$, WILCKEN, *Ostr.*, No. 1194 (from Thebes), GRENFELL, *Papyri*, vols. I and II, etc.

4. The fifth order, $\pi\epsilon\mu\pi\tau\eta\ \phi\upsilon\lambda\eta$, of priests, it will be recollected, was established by the decree of Canopus in honour of Euergetes and his wife Berenike. The priesthood in early times was apparently divided into four orders, and members of each order in turn officiated for the period of a lunar month, BORCHARDT, *Ä.Z.*, 1899, 94. The system thus resembled that of the Jewish priesthood.

The Greek text is correctly transcribed (except *Αθαγιωνος* for *Αθηγιωνος* in l. 4) in the publication of the Palæographical Society, Series II, 143. It is as follows:—

- 1 Λιγ τυβι δ̄ πεπτωκεν επι το εν Διοσπολει τη μεγαλη
 τελωνιον του εγκυκλιου εφ ου Ερμοκλης ο πραγματευομενος
 βασιλει παρα Θοτευτος του Ψεμμινιος κχι Νικωνος ος και Πε
 τεχωνσις Αθηγιωνος το γινομενον τελος εις την του
 5 εγκυκλιου προσοδον αρουρων ενδεκα ημισους ογδοου η εστιν
 εν Πεστενεμενωφε του Παθυριτου ην αγοραζει παρα
 Νικωνος του προγεγραμμενου κατα συγγραφην Αιγυπτιαν
 ωνης ην εγραψατο αυτικι εν τωι τυβι του ιγλ
 το παρ αμφοτερων τελος οκτω δυοβολους ε̄ιχαλκον
 10 δωρεας τριωβολον χαλκιαιαν τεσσaras οβολον
 Ερμοκλης ο παρα Νουμημιου

“Year 13, 3rd Tybi. There has been paid, into the customs office at Diospolis Magna, for the trafficking-tax* of which Her-mokles, the tax-farmer, is in charge, to the king(’s account)—by Thoteus, son of Psemminis and Nikon, who is also (called) Pete-chonsis, son of Athenion—the tax that becomes due to the revenue of the trafficking-tax on $11\frac{5}{8}$ arurast† (of land), which‡ is in Pestene-menôphe,§ in the Pathyrite nome, and which he (Thoteus) is buying from the above-mentioned Nikon by an Egyptian contract of sale which he wrote for him in Tybi of the 13th year, (viz. :) the tax from both (together) eight (drachmae), two obols, two chalkoi,|| fees three obols, χαλκιαια four (drachinae) one obol. Hermocles, agent of Numenius (wrote the receipt).”

The taxes, etc., here mentioned present some curious features. The δωρεαί occur only here. WILCKEN (*Ostr.*, I, 362) supposes them to be fees for extra care. χαλκιαία also is unique. It amounts to half the τέλος, but what it denotes is very obscure (WILCKEN, *Gr.*

* Or “current tax” or “ordinary tax.” The ἐγκύκλιον is a tax on sales, see WILCKEN, *Gr. Ostr.*, I, 182, whatever its etymological meaning may be.

† The five-eighths is expressed in prime fractions $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ as always, see note on l. 2 of the Demotic.

‡ Supply γῆς before ἥ as Revillout remarks.

§ Not otherwise known. The Pathyrite nome is the district about Gebelen at or in the neighbourhood of which was Pathyris.

|| From the two parties.

Ostr., I, 403). The correct reading and interpretation of these money payments were given by GRENFELL (*Rev. Pap.*, 201).^{*} The whole aspect of these matters has been changed by the recent works of Grenfell and Wilcken.[†]

^{*} Further references to this papyrus are to be found on pp. 65, 718, note 1, of Wilcken's first volume.

[†] Cf. WILCKEN, *Gr. Ostr.*, I, pp. 718-9.

CORRIGENDA TO PAPER ON GREEK OSTRAKA FROM EGYPT, pp. 211-217.

In II, *read* "payment" *for* "registration"; in IV, "Servicius" is clearly a mistake of the scribe for "Sulpicius"; in VI and XII, *read* "payed" *for* "registered"; in IX, 4, *read* "εκατον" *for* εκατοσ[τας]. In V, 3, Dr. Grenfell suggests that we should read "ἐνεχύρ[ων], pledges," instead of ἐνεχεί[ων].

P. 112, line 15 from foot, *for* B.C. *read* A.D. 68.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Wednesday, November 13th, 1901, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

SIR H. H. HOWORTH.—"Some Unconventional Views on the Text of the Bible." Part II.



PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-SECOND SESSION, 1901.

Seventh Meeting, 13th November, 1901.

REV. DR. A. LÖWY,

IN THE CHAIR.



The Council record with regret, the death of Mr. Mather so soon after his election as a Member of the Society.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—Rev. P. Cesare A. de Cara, S.J. Della Stela del Foro e della sua Iscrizione Arcaica. *Civiltà Cattolica* June, 1901.

——— L'Aruspicina Etrusco-Babilonese e la Provenienza degle Etruschi dall' Asia Minore. *Civiltà Cattolica*. Serie XVIII. Vol. IV. 2 Nov., 1901.

——— Il Primo Scavo d' una Citta Pelasgica nel Lazio. *Civiltà Cattolica*. Serie VIII. Vol. III. 2 August, 1901.

From the Author:—Rev. Geo. St. Clair. The Cat and the Moon. *The Gentleman's Magazine*. March, 1901.

From the Author:—Camden M. Cobern, D.D. The Commentary on the Old Testament. Vol. VIII. Ezekiel and Daniel. New York.

From the Author:—C. P. Tiele. Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst in de Oudheid tot op Alexander den Groote. Amsterdam, 1901.

From the Author:—James Bonwick, F.R.G.S. Captain Cook in New South Wales, or 'The Mystery of naming Botany Bay. London, 1901.

From the Author:—F. Perigal. Henry Perigal, F.R.A.S., etc. A Short Account of his Life and Works.

From the Author:—A. Boissier. Note sur un Nouveau Document Babylonien, se rapportant à l'extispicine. Geneva, 1901.

From the Author:—Rev. J. Horner. Daniel, Darius, Cyrus. Pittsburg, 1901.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting in December, 1901:—

The Hon. Mrs. Gordon, East Dene, Bonchurch, Isle of Wight.

Rev. Charles White, A.K.C.L., Ladstock, Boyne Park, Tunbridge Wells.

The following Paper was read:—

SIR H. H. HOWORTH, F.R.S., etc., etc. "Some Unconventional Views on the Text of the Bible." Part II.

Remarks were added by Dr. Gaster, Dr. Paul Ruben, Canon Girdlestone, Sir H. H. Howorth, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

SOME UNCONVENTIONAL VIEWS ON THE TEXT OF THE BIBLE.

II.

BY SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.S.A.

*The Chronology and Order of Events in Esdras A, compared with
and preferred to those in the Canonical Ezra.*

In a previous paper I brought forward the reasons which led me, many years ago, to the conclusion that the book known as Esdras A is the Septuagint text of the canonical book of Ezra, which latter in its Greek form, is a translation of the Masoretic text. The next point to decide is the relative value of the two versions as historical documents. This I discussed at considerable length in the *Academy* of 1893, but a good deal more is to be said on the matter. The point which I claimed to establish, and which seems to me incontrovertible, is that Esdras A preserves not only the Septuagint text of the book, but preserves that book very largely in its original form, while the canonical Ezra represents an edition sophisticated and altered in order to meet the prejudices and the historical standpoint of the Jewish doctors at Jamnia.

This is not the orthodox view among English critics, who in these matters seem to be perfectly satisfied to continually lean on the support of German scholars.

One of the latest English writers on the subject, Mr. Thackeray, speaks in almost contemptuous language of Esdras A, a book whose venerable prestige is attested by the fact that it was contained in the Septuagint, that it was labelled Esdras A in the early codices (while the canonical Ezra was labelled Esdras B), and that it was used as his authority by Josephus. This ought to go for a great deal, and yet this is the way Mr. Thackeray speaks of it in Hasting's *Bible Dictionary*: "It is lost labour to attempt to reconcile this

book with history; the compiler has put together his materials regardless of the inconsequences involved" (*op. cit.*, 760). This charge is enlarged in another sentence thus: "The history goes directly backwards, first Artaxerxes (ii, 15-25), then Darius (iii, 5, 6), lastly Cyrus (v, 7-30), instead of Cyrus, Darius, Artaxerxes. After expressly stating that it was Darius who gave permission to Zerubabel to return, the writer in v, 68-70, calmly refers this return to the time of Cyrus."

The first thing I wish to say in answer to this tirade is, that a part of it is true, but not quite in the sense in which Mr. Thackeray has put it forward. It is quite true that in the fifth chapter of Esdras A, as it stands, there are several statements quite inconsistent with other parts of the book, and attributing to Cyrus what is elsewhere attributed to Darius. So far Mr. Thackeray is quite right, but it was not very ingenuous of him to fail to point out that precisely the same infirmity attaches to the narrative of the canonical Ezra, as contained in the third and fourth chapters of that book. Inasmuch as the purpose and aim of Mr. Thackeray is to show that the narrative of Esdras A is inferior to that of the canonical Ezra, the omission of the facts here stated is hardly credible.

It seems to me, however, in addition to this, that the statements in question in Esdras A as we now have it, have been altered or edited to make it more consistent with the theory underlying the narrative of the canonical Ezra. Thus it is quite clear that in one of the passages in question, namely, in the 73rd verse of the fifth chapter of Esdras A, the text has been corrupted, for it now reads quite incoherently. In that verse, after reciting the opposition of the people of the land to the building of the Temple, we are told, "they hindered the finishing of the building all the time that king Cyrus lived, so they were hindered from building for the space of two years until the reign of Darius." This of course is mere nonsense. We are clearly told elsewhere that Cyrus issued his decree in his first year, and if the delay took place for two years only, the work must have ceased, not till the time of Darius as there stated, but till the third year of Cyrus. It seems plain in fact that the verse has been altered from the form in which the statement occurs elsewhere, and that it *really* originally read that the work was delayed from the time of Cyrus to the second year of Darius.

In verse 55 of the same chapter of Esdras A, Esdras and his

companions are stated to have hired Sidonians and Tyrians to carry timber, etc., for the Temple, as it "was commanded them by Cyrus, king of the Persians." If we turn to the passage as reported in Josephus, which probably represents its original form in Esdras A we have the very different and perfectly logical statement, that what was done was "what Cyrus had commanded at the first, and was now done at the command of Darius."

Again, in the 71st verse of the same chapter of Esdras A, Zerubbabel and his companions, in answer to a request of the people of the land, that they might be permitted to share in the rebuilding of the Temple, are made to say, "we ourselves alone will build unto the Lord of Israel, according as Cyrus, king of the Persians, hath commanded us." Here again it is useful to turn to Josephus. He makes them say it was impossible for them to permit them to be their partners, since they had been appointed to build that temple "at first by Cyrus and now by Darius." This points to the fact that when Josephus wrote, the text of Esdras A read differently in the critical passages quoted to what it does now, or at all events was understood by him in a different sense to that of the present words as they stand, and one quite consistent with the rest of the narrative. No such explanation is forthcoming of the corresponding inconsistencies in the canonical Ezra, over which Mr. Thackeray so strangely passes in silence. If we exclude the passages just referred to from the fifth chapter of Esdras A, and Mr. Thackeray's comment upon them, which we have shown to be inconsequent and inconsistent (unless he means to apply the same criterion to the canonical Ezra), and turn to the other parts of his diatribe in regard to the relative inferiority of the text of Esdras A compared with that of the canonical Ezra, I confess I cannot find upon what foundation they are based. It seems, on the contrary, to be a perfectly arbitrary judgment.

After detailing the story of Josiah, Esdras A begins by reciting the decree of Cyrus for the return of the Jews, which occupies the first chapter of the canonical Ezra. It then goes on quite in order to refer to the opposition raised by the great men at Samaria to the rebuilding of Jerusalem and its temple, and to the decree of Artaxerxes forbidding the work. Who was this Artaxerxes? The first Artaxerxes we read of in Persian history was Artaxerxes Longimanus, and I see no reason to doubt that the Artaxerxes who opposed and forbade the building of the Temple was Artaxerxes

Longimanus. This is confirmed when we turn to the canonical Ezra, where his name in the corresponding narrative is written Artaschastha (*op. cit.*, iv, 7). There the paragraph about him is preceded by a short one to the effect that the same Samaritans had made similar complaints in the beginning of the reign of Assuerus (*i.e.*, of Xerxes). The Xerxes there meant was therefore plainly Xerxes, the father and predecessor of Artaxerxes Longimanus.

To continue, however. In Esdras A the account of the stopping of the works at Jerusalem by Artaxerxes is followed by the phrase, "and the building of the temple in Jerusalem ceased until the second year of the reign of Darius, king of the Persians" (*op. cit.*, ii, v, 30). The very same statement is made in the corresponding passage in the canonical Ezra (see iv, 24). Both versions completely agree in the phrase that the works at Jerusalem ceased "until the second year of Darius." The Darius in question therefore cannot (without a complete alteration of both texts, whose independence I have previously shown) be identified with a predecessor of Artaxerxes. They state as clearly as possible that he must have been his successor. It seems impossible therefore to identify him, as so many have done, with Darius Hystaspis. The next Darius who occurs after Artaxerxes Longimanus was Darius, known as Nothus, *i.e.*, the Bastard, and there does not seem room for doubt that, if we follow our authority and not our imagination, the Darius in question must have been Darius Nothus. So far, therefore, the narrative of Esdras A is clearly quite logical and consistent with historical truth.

The next paragraphs in Esdras A, namely iii, 1 to v, 6, are devoted to the description of an important episode which is not contained at all in the canonical Ezra, and to which I shall presently revert; in this a Darius fills a prominent rôle. It seems to me that here again no other Darius can be meant than Darius Nothus.

Esdras A, v, 7-45, contains the list of those who returned with Zerubbabel, which corresponds to chapter ii of the canonical Ezra and to the seventh chapter of Nehemiah. This passage is placed in its proper and logical place in Esdras A, but is entirely misplaced in the canonical Ezra, where it stands before and not after the mention of Xerxes and Artaxerxes, who stopped the building of the Temple. The reason for this illogical transfer, as I claim it to be, I shall discuss further on.

After this extract we have in Esdras A a repetition of the description of the opposition of the people of the land to the

building of the temple, and of the action of Artaxerxes, *i.e.*, of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and we are again told that it lasted until the reign of Darius (*i.e.*, of Darius Nothus).

We are further told how, in the second year of Darius, the work was vigorously taken in hand under the inspiration of Zechariah and Haggai. This part of the narrative occupies chapters vi and vii of Esdras A. In chapter viii we have an account of the return of Ezra from Babylon, after the building of the Temple. This return is assigned to the reign of Artaxerxes; not, of course, to the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, who had opposed the building of the Temple, but of Artaxerxes Mnemon, the successor of Darius Nothus, who was apparently friendly to the Jews.

This is the plain, simple, straightforward and perfectly logical succession of events as told in Esdras A, and it seems absolutely correct at all points. Where the history is made to go back, as Mr. Thackeray describes it, I do not know. What is perfectly plain, no doubt, is that the story as told in Esdras A is quite inconsistent with the *à priori* and quite imaginative history which has been laid down as authoritative by the German masters at whose feet many of our critics so humbly sit, but to those who prefer to lean on the facts and not on pontifical utterances, however dogmatic, this kind of appeal has no value whatever.

While the narrative of Esdras A is, in these respects, perfectly logical and historically irreproachable, what are we to say of the canonical Ezra?

In the canonical Ezra the decree of Cyrus is followed immediately by the long list of names also contained in Nehemiah, given in Esdras A, v, 7-45, which is out of place here. This quotation, as is well known, contains a long list of those who are supposed to have returned with Zerubbabel. Among those named is Nehemiah, and to make quite sure who is meant, he is referred to in the extract as the Tirshatha, so that the extract really refers to the migration of Jews from Babylon a long time after Cyrus, and is quite misplaced here.

On this list let me quote from a venerable friend of mine, now dead, Lord Arthur Harvey. In his article on Nehemiah, in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, he says that "the second of Ezra is shown by the mention of Nehemiah and the Tirshatha in verses 2 and 63, and that of Mordecai in verse 2, to be of a much later date. Written, he says, by Mordecai, it was placed by Ezra, or probably by a still later hand, in this position, as bearing upon the Captivity related in Ezra

in chap. i, though chronologically out of place" (*op. cit.*, i, 6c7). I would rather say that the compiler of the work originally put it, as we see from Esdras A, in a much more logical place, and it was the redactors of the Masoretic text who wrongly transposed it for *à priori* reasons of their own.

Similarly, the narrative in Esdras A, v, 46–70, which stands perfectly logically there, is transposed in the canonical Ezra to chapters iii and iv, and placed before, instead of after (as it clearly ought to be), the statement of the opposition to the rebuilding of the Temple by Artaxerxes, thus again putting it back to the time of Cyrus and Darius Hystaspis. This anachronism was overlooked and forgotten by the Masoretic scribes when they, in Ezra v and vi, made Zerubbabel undertake the building of the Temple after and not before the time of Artaxerxes. The fact is, the whole narrative has been hopelessly dislocated to fit it in with an *à priori* theory, namely, that Sanabassar and Zerubbabel were the same person and that Zerubbabel was a contemporary of Cyrus. In the account in the canonical Ezra of the setting up of the altar and the building of the Temple by Zerubbabel, etc., it is not stated in whose reign this took place. We are merely told it was "in the seventh month," but later on, ch. iv, verse 3, it is implied that it was by order of Cyrus that Zerubbabel did this. We then read of the opposition of the Samaritans in the reigns of Assuerus and Artachsastha (*i.e.*, Artaxerxes), which account concludes with the statement that the work was not renewed until the second year of the reign of Darius, *i.e.*, therefore of a Darius who must have been a successor of Artaxerxes. Then we are told that Zerubbabel, under the influence of Zechariah and Haggai, proceeded to build the Temple in the reign of Darius, who, as we have seen, if he was a successor of Artaxerxes, *could not possibly have been* an earlier Darius than Darius Nothus. That is to say, Zerubbabel is impliedly made a contemporary of Cyrus and Darius Nothus, the former having reigned from 559–530 B.C., and the latter from 423–404 B.C., which is, of course, an impossibility.

Presently, in chapter vi, verse 7, we read of the return of Ezra, who, we are told, returned after these things (*i.e.*, after the building of the Temple in the time of Darius Nothus), in the reign of Artachsasthá, king of the Persians, thus agreeing completely in statement with Esdras A. As we have seen, this king must have been a successor of Darius Nothus, and was no doubt Artaxerxes Mnemon.

Nothing can be plainer than that if there are anachronisms and

chronological contradictions in the narrative, it is not in Esdras A but in the canonical Ezra that they occur, and it is almost incredible how, with the minute criticism which has been applied to the text of the Bible, the latter should have maintained its credit so long, while the former has been put aside.

There is hardly a critic who has not complained of the inconsistencies and anachronisms of the text of the canonical Ezra, and who has not suggested emendations accordingly; see Kuenen, *De Chronologie van het Perzische-Tijd*, Germ. ed. 213; see also Bertheau, 69 ff.; Schrader, 235; Bleek Wellhausen, § 139; Keil, § 145; Schulz, *Esr., Neh., Esth.*, in *Lange's Bibelwerk*, 1876; Ryssel, *Exeg. hand.* 1887; Oettli, *Kurzgef Kom*, 1889; Riehm, 2, 331; Driver, 515; M. Vernes' *Précis*, etc., 570; Kaulen, § 247, and Van Hoonacker, *Zorobabel*, 1892, 17, 62; see König, *Einleitung*, 276; see also Sayce, *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther*, 22-24, and Robertson-Smith, art. "Haggai," *En. Britt.*, XI, 370-1. In regard to one paragraph iv, 6-23, Driver speaks of the disregard of its chronological sequence, and he repudiates the notion maintained by Sayce, Robertson-Smith, Bertheau, Keil, Oettli, etc., that such paragraphs as Ezra iv, 6-23, vi, 14, and iv, 7-25, are episodal. "It is far more natural," he says, "to suppose that for some reason the true reference of the section was not perceived by the compiler, and that he referred by error to troubles connected with the restoration of the Temple that related in fact to the restoration of the city walls." How very blind those can be, to be sure, who will not see.

It is clear, therefore, that the whole case of Mr. Thackeray and others who have decried the order and arrangement and chronology of Esdras A as against the canonical Ezra, completely fails, and that it is the former and not the latter whose order, statements, and chronology are really consistent with historical verity. The substitution of Ezra for Esdras A in the canon is, in fact, another example of the way in which the Hebraists have made a fetish of the Masoretic text, and imposed it upon us in spite of logic and of the facts. We are constrained to conclude, therefore, not only that Esdras A is an older form of the work than the canonical Ezra, as we showed in the previous paper, but a much more reliable one, and that it is the latter which is a *réchauffée* of the former, and not *vice versa*, and it gives point to the remark of an old author quoted anonymously by Kennicott, that a work of great value dropped out of the canon when this book was remitted to the Apocrypha.

Let us now advance another step, and try and explain how it came about that the compilers of the Masoretic text should have taken a narrative like that of Esdras A and turned it topsy turvey and utterly changed the course of it, to our confusion.

I believe myself that this was done out of a very honest endeavour to correct what the Jews of the second century deemed to be a mistaken tradition in Esdras A on two points.

In the first place they seem to have lost count altogether of the existence of any other Darius except the first and third, *i.e.*, Darius Hystaspis and Darius Codomanus. Thus Josephus entirely ignores Darius Nothus and does not seem to have heard of him.

Inasmuch as Esdras A, which was the authority he followed, distinctly, said that the Temple was built in the reign of a Darius, and as it was plain it could not be Darius Codomanus, he concluded that it must have been Darius Hystaspis. This was apparently also the orthodox Jewish view on the subject. In order to make this view fit in with the authority on the subject which was contained in a similar narrative to that contained in Esdras A, they were obliged to either alter the kings' names as given in that document, or to transpose the narrative and turn it topsy turvey. Josephus followed the former course, and the doctors of Jamnia with the Masorets followed the latter.

In order to reconcile his theory with the plain statement of Esdras A, that the building took place under a Darius who succeeded an Artaxerxes, Josephus altered the name Artaxerxes into Cambyses, and makes Cambyses the person who stopped the building of the Temple. This was a most arbitrary corruption, well meant, no doubt, as the efforts of many despairing synchronizers have been, but perilous to the cause of truth, and to my mind absolutely valueless and misleading. Having done this, Josephus then assigned the building of the Temple to the reign of Darius Hystaspis.

He next proceeded to another alteration of the name of the Persian king as it appeared in his authority, and he attributes the return of Ezra and Nehemiah not to Artaxerxes (as Esdras A and the canonical Ezra do), but to Xerxes, the son of Darius Hystaspis, whom he describes as very friendly to the Jews.

Such then was the theory of Josephus in regard to the chronology of the events of the return from the Captivity.

The plan of tampering with the Royal names in his authority,

in order to make his scheme of chronology fit in with the narrative he was following, which was practised by Josephus, has been imitated by many modern critics. Thus Archbishop Usher, whose name was long one to conjure with, identified the Artachshasta, that is to say, the Artaxerxes of Ezra iv, 7-16, 17-24, with Smerdis, and the Darius of the same writer with Darius Hystaspis. This he does without any argument and simply as an *obiter dictum*. (See Usher's *Works*, VIII, 238-244.) Prideaux, whose "connection" was also so long and deservedly esteemed as an authority by our theologians, did not scruple to identify the Assuerus, or Ahasuerus, of Ezra, which is merely the Jewish form of Xerxes, with Cambyses and the Artaxerxes of the same text, with the false Smerdis. It is interesting to read his reason for doing so. He does it, he tells us, on the ground that the two kings in question mentioned by Ezra "are said in Scripture to be the kings of Persia who reigned between the time of Cyrus and the time of the Darius by whose decree the Temple was finished" (*op. cit.*, ed. 1815, I, 220). That is to say, having on *à priori* grounds identified the Darius of Ezra with Darius Hystaspis, and finding that that was inconsistent with the other statements of the book, he altered the proper names in these other statements in order to equate them with his mere theory. It is a long jump from Prideaux to that great figure in modern criticism, Ewald, and to find that he also identified the Artaxerxes of Ezra with Smerdis (*Gesch.*, IV, 137). He was followed by Hitzig (*Gesch.*, 272), by Nagelsbäch (*P.R.E.*, II, 4), Vatke, 484, etc. De Saulcy in his work on the chronology of Ezra and Nehemiah says, "C'est l'écrivain sacré qui se trompe, ou bien plutôt c'est un copiste maladroit qui a écrit le nom Artakhschasta au lieu de Kanbouziah" (*op. cit.*, 73).

Bosanquet in his "Messiah the Prince," which is largely devoted to a discussion of this period, insisted on the identification of the Artaxerxes of the Book of Ezra with Xerxes the son of Darius. Dr. Greene in his chronological summary of Bible History, in the *Variorum Aids to the Bible Student*, p. 98, adopts the conclusion of Usher and Hale without any attempt at justifying it. The Rev. C. J. Ball, p. 125 of the same work, does the same.

Winckler, *Alt. Forsch.*, 2nd ser., II, part 1, argues that Ahasuerus in Ezra v, 6, and Artaxerxes in vi. 7, 23, stand for Cambyses, while the Artaxerxes in v, 1 he thinks stands for Darius, as also in Nehemiah v, 14, xiii, 6, and ii, 1. Van Hoonacker makes the daring

suggestion that Nehemiah returned in the 20th year of Artaxerxes I, 444 B.C., and Ezra in the 7th year of Artaxerxes II, 397 B.C. This method of writing history is not to our taste; it is, in fact, preposterous. As Lord Arthur Harvey said, "Any interpretation which is based upon the supposition that Darius means Xerxes and Ahasuerus means Cambyses, and so on, must be as unsatisfactory as any future exposition of English history which should be based upon the supposition that King George means King William, or Queen Victoria means Queen Anne. * * * Whatever view we adopt, we must not, out of deference to a mere theory, so change the text as to alter what is plainly written." The change of names is not the only arbitrary tampering with the text, merely to meet *à priori* prejudices, which is affected by fashionable critics; they tamper with figures just as freely.

In Ezra vii, 8, 9, we are told that Ezra went up to Jerusalem in the fifth month of the seventh year of King Artaxerxes, who as we have seen must have been Artaxerxes II, a view in which Van Hoonacker (see *Le Sacerdoce Lévitique*, 1899, p. 51) quite concurs (see also Kent, *Hist. of the Jewish People*, pp. 199, 355). This was in 397 B.C. Wellhausen, *Gott. J. N.*, 1895, 186, does not scruple to alter this to the twenty-seventh year of Artaxerxes I, arguing that the number twenty has been omitted by the scribe. The twenty-seventh of Artaxerxes I would be 437. Marquart says the verse is corrupt and makes the correct date 368 or 365 B.C. Winckler, *op. cit.*, 242, makes the date the seventh of Darius II, *i.e.*, 416. Maspero makes it 369. Those who attribute Ezra's return to the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes I therefore put it in 457, see Guthe and Batten on *Ezra and Nehemiah*, p. 64, line 24.

Another way of escape from the really insuperable difficulty of reconciling the order of events and the statements of the canonical Ezra with history, has occurred to some scholars such as Bertheau, Keil and Oettli, and their view has been countenanced by Lord Arthur Harvey and Professor Sayce. According to this view, the passages which are so hard to fit in with the facts are not part of the direct narrative but are episodical. I am bound to agree with Professor Driver, when he says of this argument that it cannot be considered a probable one, for it is difficult to think that a method which could only mislead and confuse the reader would have been adopted by the compiler intentionally (*Introduction*, ed. 1891, p. 515).

The fact is, the real difficulty has been created by following a

sophisticated and altered and inconsistent text like the canonical Ezra, instead of one which is plain and consistent like Esdras A. It has also arisen from another source of error, traceable to early Jewish tradition, to which we will now devote a little space. In the first chapter of the canonical Ezra and the second of Esdras A, we have the only account extant of the return of the Jews from captivity in the reign of Cyrus. Their leader is called Sheshbazzar in the former work and Sanabassar in the latter, and not a word is said in either narrative about Zerubbabel nor is he connected in any way by name with the event. The later Jews to whom Zerubbabel was a great figure, a kind of Messiah in fact, not unnaturally, perhaps, wished to identify him with Sheshbazzar or Sanabassar, a conclusion for which there was no real evidence, and which I discussed at some length in the *Academy* for 1893. This identification was made very early.

Thus in one long paragraph interpolated into the MS. of Josephus, followed by Whiston, we have the name Zerubbabel substituted for the Sanabassar which occurs in the previous paragraph, in the statement of the Edict of Cyrus (*vide* Lib. XI, ch. 1). This interpolation is clearly a forgery. It repeats the story as told in the previous paragraph in a different way, bringing in Zerubbabel, and is, I believe, unknown to the best MSS.

Similarly, in most if not all the copies of Esdras A as we have it, we have in one place an interpolated gloss to the same effect. This occurs in chapter vi, verse 18. Speaking of the holy vessels, we there read, "and they were delivered to Zerubbabel and to Sanabassar the ruler." That this is an illicit phrase we can see at once by turning to the corresponding passage in the canonical Ezra, where the name Zerubbabel does not occur. But it is more plainly seen from the context of the passage itself in Esdras A, in which the verb is in the singular. The whole reading continues, "they (the vessels) were delivered to Zerubbabel and to Sanabassar the ruler with commandment that *he* should carry away the same vessels * * *" and continues again, "then the same Sanabassar (here named alone) being come hither," etc. (id. 19, 20).

The view that Sanabassar and Zerubbabel were the same person has been adopted with great eagerness by many modern writers, thus Lord Arthur Harvey, in his work on the Genealogies, is as fierce in his claim in this behalf as if some dogmatic question depended upon it, whereas there is really nothing of the kind. There is nothing involved in the question whatever beyond a

certain sentimental notion of the Jews about Zerubbabel. More influential persons than Lord A. Harvey have pressed the same view, however, thus:—

Ewald identified the two in his own inimitable way. He allows that nowhere in the book of Ezra are they directly identified, but he adds, "since in Ezra i, 8, 11, Sanabassar is called Nasi, *i.e.*, Royal Prince of Judah, and in v, 14, 16 he is designated by the official title of Pasha, *it is impossible not to consider him and Zerubbabel to be the same.*

Is not this fine logic? Why Sanabassar, if a different person to Zerubbabel, should not have been called both Nasi and Pasha I cannot see.

Mr. C. J. Ball identifies the two names without giving any reason for it (see *Variorum Bible*, 125). The views of the majority of modern critics of authority, however, as we shall see presently, is entirely opposed to this conclusion. It was, however, as I have said, the view of the later Jews, and thus afforded an additional reason to the compilers of the Masoretic text to alter and rearrange the chief and probably only reliable document available to them, namely, that now represented by Esdras A.

This has always seemed to me to be the only reasonable explanation of their cutting out of the book one of the most beautiful and edifying incidents and homilies in the Bible—I mean the story of Darius and the three young men. I can see no dogmatic reason of any kind for their doing so, and the reasons for it which have been urged at different times seem to me quite trivial. The really paramount reason was, as it seems to me, that if Zerubbabel was the same person as Sanabassar, and was the leader of the first migration of the Jews to Palestine, then this particular story becomes impossible, for it depends on the fact that Zerubbabel was still a young man, and living at the court of Darius (and it does not signify which Darius is meant) a great many years after he is supposed to have led his people back to Palestine. Even if Darius Hystaspis could possibly have been meant, it would be eighteen years after. This seems to me to be a sufficient reason, and the only one, for the erasure of this particularly edifying passage from the canonical Ezra, and in consequence its exclusion from the canon. A further consequence was its final exclusion from the Church's Lectionary, which only took place at the last revision of that document, all which circumstances seem to me to be deplorable.

Mr. Thackeray, following in the wake of others, tries to argue that

the story of Darius and the three young men has in some way a different history to the rest of Esdras A. As usual he falls back upon Ewald, whose authority in such matters was I thought exploded, except when he produces facts to support his *obiter dicta*. He says quite dogmatically, that while the rest of the book was written originally in Hebrew, this story was originally written in Greek, and the only proof given (showing the kind of transcendental logic which is accepted in Bible dictionaries) is that the Latin version abounds in Græcisms. Of course it does. It would be strange if it did not, since it is directly taken from the Septuagint. Let us turn to quite as good a scholar, whose edition of Esdras A in the Variorum Bible is not even mentioned by Mr. Thackeray in his article, a not very creditable fact.

Mr. Ball has pointed out two or three forms of expression in the story which are distinct Semitisms, and which point to its having been a translation from Semitic, like the paragraphs preceding it. The story was certainly in the book when Josephus wrote, for he repeats it at the very point where the narrative in Esdras A puts it, and it occurs so far as I know in every MS. of the book, Greek or Latin. There is not in fact a tittle of evidence, except the dogmatic *obiter dictum* of Ewald, in favour of the story being anything but an integral part of the work as originally written, and its absence from the canonical Ezra is clearly a mutilation, for which I know no cause so reasonable as the one above given.

The same reason doubtless led to the transposal of the list of those who returned with Zerubbabel from the logical place it fills in Esdras A, to the quite illogical place it fills in chapter 2 of the canonical Ezra. It is an attempt to make out that the emigrants were, in some way or other, those who returned with the first migration in the time of Cyrus; the name Zerubbabel in the list doing justice in their eyes for that of Sanabassar.

The narrative in the canonical Ezra, chapter 5, again is quite inconsistent with such an identification. There we read how Zerubbabel began to build the Temple, and Tattenai and others would not let them proceed until they had appealed to Darius. To him they reported how Zerubbabel and his friends had told them that Cyrus had commissioned one whose name was Sheshbazzar to complete the Temple, who had laid the foundations of it, since which time it had been building, but had not been completed, and asking the king to make a search in the archives of Babylon as to

whether such a decree existed anywhere, and on a search being made the decree of Cyrus was duly found at Achmetha (*i.e.*, Ecbatana). Not a word is said about this Sheshbazzar having been the same person as Zerubbabel, who was the leader of those to complain of whose action the letter was written. How is it consistent with any rational theory that Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah, who was entrusted by Cyrus with the charge of the Jewish colony and of the treasures of the Temple, should have to have his authority certified by making a search at Ecbatana, to find a decree of Cyrus justifying his position in the eyes of the chief men in Palestine?

The matter is plain enough if the two men were entirely different people. Robertson Smith is constrained to the same conclusion. After arguing that the Tirshatha of Ezra ii is Nehemiah and not Zerubbabel, he adds, "if this criticism is just, the usual arguments for identifying the latter with Sheshbazzar, whom Cyrus, according to an Aramaic source preserved in Ezra v, appointed governor, and charged with the restoration of the Temple, fall to the ground," etc., etc. *Vide sub voce* Haggai, *En. Britt.*, XI, 370.

Apart from all these reasons we have the supreme one, that the two men bear entirely different names. The giving of two names to the same person is not impossible, and it has been urged that it is paralleled in the cases of Daniel, Azariah, Hananiah, and Misael, who had also the Babylonian names Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego, but the cases are not in the least parallel, for both Sanabassar, or Sheshbazzar, and Zerubbabel are Babylonian names. We can understand a Jew of Babylon having a Jewish as well as a Babylonian name, but we cannot understand him having two Babylonian names.

Whichever way we approach the problem, save and except by the path by which the Jews, on purely *à priori* grounds, identified the two men, our evidence fails us completely. The identification of Sanabassar and Zerubbabel is in fact repudiated by such scholars and critics as De Saulcy, Imbert, Stade, Wellhausen, Nickel, and Wildeboer, and Renan says of it, "L'identification de Zerubbabel et de Sheshbasar est tout à fait impossible." Lastly, Maspero speaks of Sanabassar and Zerubbabel having long been confounded one with the other.

While Stade and Wellhausen take this view, they complicate the whole issue by inventing another inconsequent story—I mean one largely based on imaginary premises—to explain what is perfectly

clear. The latter follows the former in his suggestion, that while Zerubbabel was a different person to Sanabassar, or Sheshbazzar, they were nevertheless contemporaries, and both went down to Jerusalem with the Jews in the time of Cyrus (see Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, II, 100-102 ; Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, 162).

For this view there seem most inadequate reasons. No doubt the statements in chapter 5 of Esdras A and the corresponding passages in Ezra which I discussed at the beginning of the paper, support it, but their value I have tried to show is worthless. Apart from their slight intrinsic value, however, when read by themselves, we have the supreme fact that they are completely at issue with all the other statements in the same authorities, and cannot be made to fit in with them in any way. In all the other passages in these authorities, Zerubbabel is made the contemporary not of Cyrus but of Darius.

That he lived in the reign of *a* Darius is perfectly plain ; who this Darius was is only the question at issue. Of course, to all those people who had identified Sanabassar with Zerubbabel, including the ancient Jewish exegetists and a good many modern students, the Darius in question could be no other than Darius Hystaspis, and, as we have seen, in order to make the story fit in with his time, all kinds of liberties had to be taken with the text of the canonical Ezra. The view in question, namely, that the Darius in whose reign the temple was built was Darius Hystaspis, dominates Biblical literature very largely. It is held by Wellhausen as well as by my friend Professor Sayce, who are otherwise so far apart ; by Guthe, the latest German editor of the canonical Ezra and Esdras A, and by Kusters in Holland, and naturally, may I say necessarily, by the English and American writers in the two Biblical encyclopædias recently issued, whose footstools are so prominently planted at the feet of the Continental Gamaliels.

It was not always so, however. Many of the early chronologers and critics, who had not *à priori* theories to sustain, held very different views on this question. They preferred to follow their authorities as closely as they could, rather than weave fantastic webs out of their imagination ; they identified the Darius with whom Zerubbabel had dealings, not with Darius Hystaspis but with Darius Nothus. Among them I may mention Junius, Drusius, Scaliger, Casaubon, Cocceius, and especially, as Lord Arthur Harvey has

pointed out, Hottinger, and that very acute person Dr. W. H. Mill, the author of the *Hulsean Lectures*, 1840-44, and subsequently Hebrew Professor, in his able *Memoir on the Genealogies of Christ*, 165 note.

In more modern times others have taken the same side, such as Havet (*La Modernité des Prophètes*, *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, Aug., 1889, xciv, 799 ff., Imbert (*Le Temple reconstruit par Zerobabel*, Museon, 1888-89). May I add Howorth, *Academy*, Feb., 1893.

This catena of names shows that the question is a perfectly open one, and not, as Harvey called it, "a preposterous interpretation."

Directly we have, of course, no proof either way, or else there would be no division of opinion about it, but indirectly and circumstantially there is abundant evidence, and it seems to me to be virtually all on one side, viz., in favour of the "Old Masters" of criticism, against the pupils and imitators of Ewald and his methods.

First let us see what can be said in favour of the identification of the Darius in question with Hystaspis. Those who take that side for the most part do not argue it, but merely deal in *obiter dicta*. Usher apparently merely follows Josephus, whose position we have already explained. Prideaux says, "that Darius being Darius Hystaspis (as will be unanswerably demonstrated in its proper place)." This promise I cannot find any fulfilment of anywhere. In the subsequent narrative he simply takes it all for granted, but offers no reasons. To come down to our day, our most accomplished President, my friend Professor Sayce, in his article on "Darius Hystaspis," in Hasting's Dictionary, does not offer any evidence, but simply says, "It was in the reign of Darius that the second Temple of Jerusalem was built." Kuenen, who is generally so forcible and strong, seems to me in this case to have nothing to offer us in the way of tangible reasoning. Lord A. Harvey, who took the same side, does devote some space to its discussion. He produces two arguments only, in favour of Darius Hystaspis. One of them is based on the identification of Zerubbabel with Sanabassar, which, as we have seen, and as I showed years ago, is quite untenable; the second depends on the interpretation of a verse in the prophet Haggai, who in addressing the Jews says, "Who is left among you that saw this house in her first glory?" which he explains as meaning that some of the crowd before him had seen the old temple built by Solomon, which he urges might be just possible in a contemporary of Darius Hystaspis.

Suppose that the phrase involved an argument in favour of Darius Hystaspis being the patron of Zerubbabel, its vagueness would give it a mere feather-weight in comparison with the arguments on the other side to be presently adduced, but I deny that the passage is in any way relevant.

The prophet does not imply in the words that any of his auditory could remember the first temple. Hottinger explained it long ago. As he says, "*Nec verba Haggaei asservativa sunt, sed interrogatoria. Quis in vobis est inquit*" (*op. cit.*, 11). What the prophet wished to imply was that the ruins they saw around them, or rather the non-existing traces of their old temple, had been a scandal too long and one reaching far beyond their memory, and that it was quite time they should set to work to remedy it. The language is the language of rhetoric.

Apart from this phrase of Haggai's, which has done yeoman's service in the controversy, I know of no argument of any kind directly favouring the contemporaneity of Zerubbabel and Darius Hystaspis.

May I say here that the kind of argument involved in the appeal to this phrase as dominating the position, would, if pressed, carry us into all kinds of absurdities. In Ezra v, 2, we are told that Zerubbabel and Joshua *began to build* the House of God in *the second year of Darius*, while in Ezra v, 14-16, we are told that Shezbazzar *laid the foundations* of the House of God in Jerusalem *in the reign of Cyrus*, and in Zecharias iv, 9, we read that "the hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house, his hands also shall finish it." The simple explanation of these apparent contradictions, is surely, that when a building has been in abeyance for a century, it is a perfectly natural thing to say of a person who commences to build it again and carries it to completion, that he founded it. Another fact will show how forced the application of the ambiguous phrase in Haggai is. Suppose we grant that his words have reference to the proposed building of the Temple in the second year of Darius Hystaspis, that would be in 520 B.C. As Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the old Temple in 588 B.C., there was a gap of sixty-eight years. To whose actual memory among his audience could the prophet appeal for an event sixty-eight years before. There is of course a possibility, but we are dealing not with bare possibilities, but with the interpretation of a homely phrase in a common-sense attitude.

Having shown that there is no direct evidence for identifying the Darius of Ezra with Darius Hystaspis, let us turn to the evidence against it. Against the identification of Darius Hystaspis with the Persian king who authorized the building of the Temple, there is the first strong *à priori* objection that he was a fanatical adherent of Mazdaism, and was a most unlikely person therefore to have favoured the Jews in this way. Such a policy on his part is contrary to all we know of his ways and thoughts.

Secondly, as we know, when the Jews returned from the Captivity they were really a new people. They had largely forgotten their old language, and spoke Aramaic, while their ritual and their customs had greatly changed. It seems to me that we must allow a longer time for all these changes than the interval between Nebuchadnezzar and the second year of Darius Hystaspis.

Thirdly, if we put the building of the Temple in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, we shall have to account for the fact that for fifty-eight years, and these the years immediately preceding the career of Ezra, there is an absolute blank in the Jewish annals. Such a blank we can understand in the earlier and more troubled time when the Jews were buffeted by the Samaritans and badly treated by the Persian kings, but not after their Temple was built.

These are *à priori* reasons, but the strongest and most direct reasons of all, are the positive and repeated statements of both Esdras A and the canonical Ezra, that it was after the reign of Artaxerxes that the Temple was rebuilt.

If Zerubbabel built the Temple in the second and succeeding years of Darius, as we are told in those documents, and if this took place after the obstruction in the time of Artaxerxes, the king who was his patron must have been Darius II; it is absolutely impossible that he could have been Darius Hystaspis.

Even after the dislocation of the text by the doctors at Jamnia, which was very clumsily done, this fact comes out so strongly in the canonical Ezra that, as we have seen, quite a string of critics of repute have felt that it was capable of only one interpretation, namely, that the Darius in question cannot have been Hystaspis and must have been Nothus. I especially refer to Ezra iv, 23, 24, which is most precise and ought to outweigh any inferences from the ambiguous sentence of Haggai already referred to.

If this be the case with the canonical Ezra, which has been disarranged and re-edited apparently with the express purpose of putting the events in question in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, it is overwhelmingly so when we turn to Esdras A, which, as we have seen, is much the older and more reputable text, and has not been thus deliberately tampered with.

In regard to the chronology of the priest Ezra and the Tirshatha Nehemiah, the conclusion here emphasized that the Darius of Zerubbabel, of Zechariah and of Haggai was Darius Nothus, compels the further conclusion that the date of Ezra and Nehemiah must be put in the reign of Artaxerxes II, for they were certainly later and not earlier in date than Zerubbabel, and puts out of court the guesses and imaginative solutions of Van Hoonacker and others.

This was the view of De Saulcy, and apparently also is that of Torrey, who has written with acuteness lately on the two books of Ezra and Nehemiah. It is also the view of Maspero, see *Passing of the Nations*, 786, 787.

I have tried to examine the question frankly and fully, and it seems to me to follow as plainly as can be that the adverse judgment passed upon Esdras A by Mr. Thackeray and others, is perverse in every way, and the creation of *a priori* prejudice and not of a determination to abide by the facts. It is a curious Nemesis that the champions of this faith should have struck out of our Prayer Books the world-wide known phrase "*Magna est veritas et prevalet.*" So far as we can judge, the text of Esdras A, with the exception of some very slight and easily-detected interpolations and mistakes, is substantially that which Origen had before him when he transcribed the Septuagint into his Hexapla. On the other hand, the canonical Ezra is a capital example of the reckless way in which the redactors of the Masoretic text tampered with their authorities in favour of schemes of chronology and of history based upon other than inductive grounds. As we have seen, they did not hesitate to break up or to re-unite the books in the Bible, or to re-arrange them according to their caprice. They as little hesitated to make the texts consistent with their eclectic reading of history.

It seems plain to me that the histories of the Jews which are accepted as authoritative will have to be largely re-written in that portion dealing with the Persian period. How much and how radically the process will have to go may be judged by any one who will turn to Blunt's article on Ezra in the *En. Britt.*, where

every possible absurdity seems condensed. When so re-written it will have to take into consideration the following facts :—

First, that in the reign of Cyrus a certain number of Jews returned to Jerusalem, under a governor of Jerusalem called Sanabassar, who possibly laid the foundations of the Temple, and nothing more.

Secondly, a slow and continuing attempt on the part of these Jews to restore Jerusalem and its Temple, lasting down to the second year of Darius Nothus, was bitterly opposed by the Samaritans and for a while put a stop to perhaps by Xerxes and certainly by Artaxerxes Longimanus.

Thirdly, a second migration of Jews to Palestine under Zerubabel, on a much larger scale than the former one, assisted by the great king himself, took place in the reign of Darius Nothus, who was friendly to the Jews, and the completion of the Temple took place in the tenth year of his reign.

Fourthly, the dating of the prophecies and career of the prophets Zechariah and Haggai must be transferred from the time of Darius Hystaspis to that of Darius Nothus.

Fifthly, Ezra migrated to Palestine in the seventh year not of Artaxerxes Longimanus but of Artaxerxes the Second, Mnemon, *i.e.*, in 397 B.C.

Sixthly, Nehemiah migrated to Palestine in the twentieth year of the same king, *i.e.*, in 384 B.C.

These facts involve no dogmatic questions whatever. Not a single theological conclusion or opinion is thereby imperilled or affected. On the other hand, a large number of difficulties of history and chronology, which have been a stumbling-block to many an honest student, and have led to many disingenuous methods of reconciliation which are neither necessary nor expedient, disappear.

This paper has been in the main devoted to defending the integrity and value of Esdras A when compared with the canonical Ezra as a historical document (a view of its relative value long ago endorsed by a critic with a most sagacious judgment, namely, Kuenen), against the arbitrary treatment it has received at the hands of Mr. Thackeray and other recent inquirers. It by no means exhausts the matters of great interest for Biblical criticism supplied by the same book; I must postpone the consideration of others to another occasion.

The succession and dates of the Persian kings as given by Nöldeke :—

Cyrus	...	...	...	...	...	559-530
Cambyses	...	...	...	...	...	530-522
Gaumáta (the false Smerdis)	...	...	...	...	...	522-521
Darius I Hystaspis...	...	...	...	...	...	521-485
Xerxes I	...	...	...	...	...	485-464
Artaxerxes I (Longimanus))	...	...	...	...	...	464-424
Xerxes II	...	...	...	...	...	424
Sogdianus	...	...	...	...	...	424-423
Darius II Nothus	...	...	...	...	...	423-404
Artaxerxes II Mnemon	...	...	...	...	...	404-358
Artaxerxes III Ochus	...	...	...	...	...	358-338
Arses	...	...	...	...	...	338-335
Darius III Codomanus	...	...	...	...	...	335-330

I have thought it right to append this table as suggested to me by my kind friend, the Rev. James Marshall. It will enable the narrative to be followed more easily when two or three persons of the same name occur in it. The equation of the regnal years with the actual dates in the text has been made in accordance with this table.

Correction in Part I:—

- p. 154, line 12, insert "it" before "its."
 - p. 156, line 39, for "Telba" read "Tella."
 - p. 157, line 11, insert "the Syriac text of" before "Esdras."
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In the discussion that followed the reading of the Paper, the following remarks were made :—

Canon R. B. Girdlestone said that he was prejudiced in favour of the Hebrew text as a whole, and not convinced that Esdras A was to take the place of Ezra. He was very slow to impute any motive (*e.g.*, the desire to do honour to Zerubbabel) to those from whom we obtained our Hebrew text. He freely acknowledged that the canonical text was in a very corrupt state, a fact which he had demonstrated by printing side by side the chief duplicate passages

contained in Esdras, are highly suggestive, and may even turn out to be near the truth. But they do not in the least settle the relation in which the canonical book stands to Esdras, nor do they justify the conclusions which Sir Henry draws for the superiority of Esdras over Ezra. The former represents, in fact, the corrected text, in which the difficulties found in the canonical Ezra have to a great extent disappeared, and the trend of historical events runs very smoothly. According to the established rule, we are thus bound to consider this version as the second in value, the result of a late re-modelling of the older text preserved in the canon. Here the fragmentary character of the book is still visible. The hand of the editor is nowhere seen, for the book consists of fragments pieced together in the rudest possible manner, without any attempt being made at harmonising the contents, or of joining the pieces together so as to form a consecutive historical narrative. I must decline to accept even in the remotest degree the wholly gratuitous supposition of a deliberate alteration in the contents of the book, in order to subserve certain preconceived notions. According to Sir Henry, the desire of this prejudiced editor had been to identify Sanabazzar or Shashbasar of the canonical text with Zorobabel or with Ezra. Unless my memory is wrong, Esdras identifies Sanabassar with Zorobabel, and in another place reckons Zorobabel among the priests!

But in Ezra no such identification is made, and the very text would betray such an attempt, for in one of the subsequent chapters the whole plot with which the editor of "Ezra" is credited to have so cunningly contrived at the expense of historical accuracy and of truth, stands revealed. How clumsy those old clever Sages must have been not to have read the following chapters ere altering the preceding, for they place in the hands of the readers the easy means of detecting so open a fraud. No such intention has ever guided the old Jewish sages. It cannot be stated emphatically enough that in their eyes it would have been short of sacrilege to touch even a word of the Sacred Text. Nor have we any tradition or any hint that such an attempt has ever been made. The existence of the Massora is the best refutation of such an accusation. The men who invented one of the most elaborate systems to protect even the scribe's errors in the text would not deliberately alter it, especially as no dogmatic or religious principles were involved in the text,

which is said to have been thus mutilated by the old editors. The very fragmentary form of the canonical Ezra proves its genuineness. In the light of Sir Henry's investigation many an obscure passage in the canonical Ezra will receive a new and, to my mind, more accurate explanation than has hitherto been given by Biblical commentators. It may help also to explain a peculiarity of Jewish chronology, according to which the whole of the Persian dominion over Judea lasted only 40 years. At least 120 are simply ignored. The reason for this shortening of the period of the Persian rule over Judea does not affect the argument, and will be treated by me on another occasion in connection with some aspects of Oriental chronology. The fact that Josephus uses the Greek text, is no argument whatever for the superiority of that text over the Hebrew. Josephus as a rule gives preference to Greek texts, notably the LXX, for he was writing in Greek, and it was easier for him to use texts in that language instead of having to translate them anew. The historical results obtained by Sir Henry, and his identification of the Persian kings mentioned in Esdras, can just as easily be applied to the Hebrew Ezra without thereby enhancing the value of Esdras over Ezra. If anything, the comparison of the two texts will strengthen the belief in the reliability of the canonical, so far as the tradition of the text is concerned. We have in the Hebrew the unsophisticated record as found by the first editors who compiled the books before they were included in the canon, whilst Esdras represents a later modification and amplification of the same text with new interpolations. Esdras is evidently a fragment of a larger compilation, intended probably to be a history of the post-exilic period, and rearranged for that purpose.

Sir H. H. Howorth's reply : I have nothing to say in regard to the reported remarks of Canon Girdlestone and Dr. Ruben, the latter of which hardly do justice to the interesting point he so aptly raised. They are too short and I wish they had been longer.

Dr. Gaster says it is a fundamental principle conceded by scholars that of two readings of a text, the more difficult is to be accepted as the more genuine. This is new to me and astounding. It seems to me to absolutely reverse all the results of criticism due to collation ; the golden rule in which is to find in the oldest texts, in the main, the purest sources and best readings. Difficulties in MSS. and in texts increase with the opportunities of corruption and do not decrease.

later editor of Ezra, but that the later editor created difficulties by his attempts to equate his text with his *a priori* reading of history and chronology. The clumsiness of the interpolator and corrector is fortunately for us in many cases our great safeguard against wrong conclusions. Such people in old uncritical times always did their work clumsily. Dr. Gaster says of Esdras A that it is a corrected, and a late and interpolated text. Josephus was a better judge of such a fact, I take it, than Dr. Gaster. Hebrew and Greek were to him living languages and not dead ones, and in selecting the materials for his great history, he is not likely to have selected any text which was not deemed the canonical one in his time. He selected Esdras A and not the canonical Ezra. Dr. Gaster has not even proved that the canonical Ezra existed in the time of Josephus. To me it seems quite plain that if it had existed, and if it had been received as canonical, he would have used it.

Dr. Gaster trusts to his memory for what Esdras A has to say to the identification of Zerubbabel and Sanabasser. In communicating his remarks to a Journal so esteemed as ours, he would have done better not to trust to his memory, but to have looked at his text, which I have studied for years. If he had done so he would at once have seen, what is in fact quite obvious from the context, that the mention of Zerubbabel in the place referred to is an interpolation, as it has been treated by every serious editor. I have explained it fully and minutely.

Dr. Gaster writes as a devoted Rabbinist, and in one extraordinary sentence recalls to us the attitude and the language of the Buxtorfs: "It cannot be stated emphatically enough," he says, "that in their eyes" (*i.e.*, the eyes of the Jews) "it would have been short of sacrilege to touch even a word of the Sacred Text." Such a sentence must excite wonder in these days. What will my old friend Dr. Ginsburg, who has spent his life upon the Massora, and is by far the most learned and competent critic of the Old Testament Masoretic text now living, say to this? He has shown in numberless cases that the text has been so tampered with.

The reference to the Massora by Dr. Gaster seems to me quite irrelevant. The Massora, at the earliest, dates from the beginning of the 7th century or the end of the 6th century. The *Urtext* or mother-manuscript of the Hebrew Bible discussed so learnedly by Lagarde, and many others, was a document of the 2nd century.

The Massora preserved the text of the 7th century, no doubt, with marvellous accuracy, and preserved the various readings then extant, but it is a witness to nothing earlier than that. To quote the Massora therefore in these discussions is beside the mark. I am afraid, in fact, that Dr. Gaster has not taken his usual pains in revising what were very hurried remarks made at the reading of my paper, and to which he did not wait to hear the reply. If he had done so he would have escaped some pitfalls. Dr. Gaster's two concluding sentences are amusing instances of the way in which some students fancy the world's opinion is in the least affected by pontifical utterances. Our opinions stated as *obiter dicta* are of no importance or value unless supported by some evidence.



QUELQUES LETTRES ASSYRIENNES

Essai d'interprétation

PAR A. J. DELATTRE, S.J.

(Suite Vol. XXIII, Page 71)

XII

K. 83.—Harper, 202

KAPTIA AU ROI D'ASSYRIE

Ecriture babylonienne.

Kaptia, qui doit être un personnage assez important à Babylone, n'a pas prêté serment au roi avec ses concitoyens. Le roi lui a envoyé des remontrances à ce sujet. Kaptia répond que chargé d'une mission par le roi, il n'avait pu se trouver à Babylone au jour fixé pour les serments. A la vérité, Kaptia s'est trouvé à Nipur et à Uruk lors de la prestation du serment dans les deux villes, et il aurait pu y participer, comme il semble que des délégués du roi le lui aient conseillé ; mais il a jugé devoir prêter serment avec les anciens de Babylone, devant les dieux de cette ville. Il espérait sans doute revenir à temps pour cela.

Chose à noter pour l'intelligence de la lettre, il y avait deux actes dans la prestation du serment : on *entrait au serment*, et ensuite on faisait le serment. Entrer au serment, c'était se rendre au lieu indiqué et y assister à certaines cérémonies préparatoires. Cela ressort de deux autres lettres, citées ci-dessous dans les notes.

RECTO

1. *A-na šarri bí-ili-ia*
2. *(amil) arad-ka (h.) Kap-ti-ia*
3. *lu-u šu-lum a-na*
4. *šarri bí-ili-ia a-na íli*

5. *a-di-í ša Babilu(-ki)*
6. *ša šarru bíli-a iš-pu-ra*
7. *ul kir-bi-ka un-ku*
8. *ša šarri bí-ili-ia*
9. *ša (h.) Aššur-ra-mi-im-šarri*
10. *a-na muḥ-ḥi-ia iš-ša-'*
11. *a-na-ku ú ahâni-ia*
12. *ki-i ni-il-lik-ku*
13. *ina mat A-ra-ši (lim ?) ma-šar-ta*
14. *it-ti-šú ni-it-ta-šar*
15. *a-da-nu ša a-di-í*
16. *ša Babilu*

ARÊTE

17. *ul ak-šu-du*
18. *ina ḥarrani a-na*

VERSO

19. *pa-ni*
20. *amilu ša pa-ni í-kal*
21. *í-tí-la-'*
22. *ki-i i-bak-ku-an-ni*
23. *ina Nipuru(-ki) ú ina Uruk(-ki)*
24. *ina lib-bi ilâni-ka*
25. *ú a-di-í ša šarri bí-ili-ia*
26. *aš-ša-bat ú a-na-ku*
27. *a-na a-di-í ša šarri bí-ili-ia*
28. *ul ḥa-ma-ku-u um-ma*
29. *šabâni marâni-šu-nu ú aššât-šú-nu*
30. *a-di ilâni-šú-nu a-na lib-bi*
31. *a-di-í ša šarri bí-ili-ia*
32. *li-ir-bu ú a-na-ku*
33. *ina ši-pir-ti ša šarri bí-ili-ia*
34. *(amil) ši-bu-tu ki-i*
35. *il-lik-ku a-na lib-bi*
36. *a-di-í ša šarri bí-ili-ia*
37. *ina Babili(-ki)*
38. *i-ti-ir-bu*

au (3) roi mon maître. (4-6) Concernant ce que le roi mon maître m'a mandé au sujet du serment des Babyloniens. (7) N'est-elle plus dans ton souvenir la lettre (*littéralement*, le sceau), (8) du roi mon maître, (9) qu' Aššur-ramim-šarri (10) m'a apportée. (11) Comme moi et mes frères (12) nous sommes allés (13, 14) faire la garde avec lui au pays d'Arašī, (15-17) j'ai manqué le temps du serment de Babylone. (18-21) Sur la route, les officiers du palais vinrent au devant de moi. (22, 23) Quand ils m'eurent mené à Nipur et à Uruk, (24-26) je tombai au milieu de tes dieux, et (de la cérémonie) du serment prêté au roi mon maître. (25-28) Mais moi je n'étais pas porté à faire le serment au roi mon maître, disant : (29-32) Que ces gens, leurs fils et leurs femmes, avec leurs dieux, entrent au serment du roi mon maître ; moi, (33-35) quand, conformément au message du roi mon maître, les anciens s'y rendront, (35-38) j'entrerai au serment du roi mon maître à Babylone.

NOTES

L. 5.—*Adi ša Babilu*, le serment de Babylone, c'est-à-dire des Babyloniens. Cf. ll. 32-38.

Nous avons parlé, au numéro I, d'après le grand prisme d'Assurbanipal (I, 1-22), du serment de fidélité prêté à ce prince, suivant l'ordre de son père Asarhaddon, par tous les grands officiers de l'empire. Le serment était aussi requis des Assyriens de certaines professions, des scribes, des médecins, des exorcistes, etc. (Voir la note ll. 29-32 ; Cf. Dumon, dans le *Journal Asiatique*, mars-avril 1897, pp. 321, 322.) Les princes étrangers vassaux de l'empire prêtaient aussi le "serment des grands dieux", ou le "serment du pays d'Assur." Violer le serment, l'*adi*, est une périphrase pour dire se révolter. Notre lettre (ll. 29-32) montre les gens de Babylonie prêtant en masse, hommes et femmes, ce serment de fidélité. Cela eut probablement lieu au commencement d'un règne, ou après la répression d'une de ces révoltes si fréquentes en Babylonie sous la domination des Sargonides.

L. 70.—*Ina kirbi*. Nous avons vu dans K. 824, H. 290 (voir notre n° X), ll. 17 et 23, l'expression *ina libbi* employée de même dans le sens de : *dans la pensée, dans la mémoire*.

L. 14.—*Šu* ne peut représenter qu'*Aššur-ramim-šarri*, qui a été

L. 30.—Les gens de Nipur et d'Uruk entrent au serment *avec leurs dieux*. Le serment se prêtait donc devant les dieux du roi (l. 24) et les dieux de Nipur et d'Uruk. Il s'agit des divinités particulièrement honorées par le roi et par ces villes, respectivement ; car on sait que l'Assyrie et la Babylonie honoraient les mêmes dieux, à part peut-être Assur, qui ne semble pas avoir été reconnu à Babylone.

Ll. 34-38.—Ces mots expriment un dessein, réel ou supposé, de Kaptia, et qu'il prétend n'avoir pu exécuter (ll. 15-17).

XIII

S. 1028—Harper, 418

UBAR, GOUVERNEUR DE BABYLONE, AU ROI DE NINIVE

Ecriture babylonienne.

Dans la lettre étudiée au numéro X (K. 517, H. 327), le chef de Nipur se plaint des mauvais procédés d'Ubar, gouverneur de Babylone. D'après le chef de Nipur, à la date de sa lettre, presque tous les peuples soumis naguère au roi de Ninive, ont secoué son joug. Il fallait que cette situation fût bien réelle pour que le chef d'une ville babylonienne osât s'en prévaloir en écrivant au roi de Ninive lui-même. Dans la lettre que nous étudions ici, Ubar présente néanmoins les affaires du roi de Ninive sous un jour très favorable : tous les peuples, seraient contents de ce monarque. Mais il faut tenir compte du ton adulateur et de la date de la lettre d'Ubar. Elle est antérieure à celle du chef de Nipur. Ubar, en effet, vient seulement de prendre possession de sa charge à Babylone ; il envoie ses premières impressions. Que les peuples, bientôt après, se soient soulevés en masse contre le roi d'Assur, le fait n'a rien d'étonnant. Samassumukin, quelques années auparavant, avait entraîné une foule de nations dans sa révolte contre Assurbanipal. Entre ces deux faits, la lettre d'Ubar suppose que la Babylonie a été envahie par les gens du pays de Kaldu (situé au bord du golfe Persique), comme elle l'avait déjà été par eux sous Sargon et Sennachérib. Ubar semble avoir pris le gouvernement de Babylone immédiatement après la retraite des Chaldéens.

Le sens général de la lettre d'Ubar semble clair ; celui de quelques expressions est difficile à préciser.

RECTO

1. *A-na šarri bi-ili-ia*
2. *arad-ka (h.) U-ba-ru*
3. *(amīl) ša-ku Babilī(-ki)*
4. *(d.) Nabu ū (d.) Marduk*
5. *a-na šarri lik-ru-bu*
6. *a-du-u um-mu-us-su*
7. *(d.) Marduk ū (d.) Zar-pa-ni-tum*
8. *a-na balat napšāti*
9. *ša šarri bi-ili-ia u-šal-la*
10. *a-na Babilī(-ki)*
11. *i-ti-ru-bu Babilai*
12. *iḫ-ti-ši-nu-in-ni*
13. *ū um-mu-us-su*
14. *šarra i-ka-ra-bi*

VERSO

15. *um-ma ša ḫu-ub-tu*
16. *ū šal-lat ša Babilu(-ki)*
17. *u-tir-ri*
18. *ū ul-tu Sippar (-ki)*
19. *a-di kiprat ša nār Mar-rat*
20. *amīl ra-ša-ni ša mat Kal-du*
21. *šarra i-ka-ra-bu*
22. *um-ma ša Babilu*
23. *u-ti-ši-bi*
24. *matāti gab-bi*
25. *a-na pa-ni*
26. *šarri bi-ili-ia*

(1)
de Bal
Maint
conser
entrée
moi, (
qu'il a

semble donner comme synonymes *habbatum*, de la même racine que *habatu*, piller, et *murattu*, qui est probablement le participe II, 1, d'un verbe רשע (Delitzsch, *Handw.*, p. 629, *b*). C'est à la même racine qu'il faut rattacher notre *rašani*, pluriel de *rašu*. Il n'y a pas à songer à *rašu* dans le sens de créancier, absolument étranger au contexte; ni à un mot *rašu* dans le sens de *tête*, et, par métaphore, *chef*. Le mot qui signifie tête s'écrit toujours : *ri-šu* ou *ri-i-šu*, quand il est exprimé phonétiquement. De plus, ce ne sont pas les chefs du pays de Kaldu qui bénissent le roi; nous le démontrons dans la note précédente. Les *rašani* du pays de Kaldu sont donc très probablement ceux qui ont été pillés par les Chaldéens.

Mot Kaldu. Le pays de Kaldu, est mis pour les Chaldéens, suivant une métaphore fréquemment employée en assyrien dans des cas où elle ne le serait pas dans nos langues. Voir notre numéro X (K. 517, H. 327), ll. 11, 12; 36, 37.

L. 27.—*Hamû.*—Voir numéro XII, note à la ligne 28. Le sens *d'être content*, est aussi attaché à ce verbe dans la petite lettre K. 532 (H. 324), adressée à la mère du roi, qui était inquiète, semble-t-il, pour la monarque engagé dans quelque expédition: "Mère du roi, sois contente (*lû hamati*), un messenger favorable de Bél et de Nabu, accompagne le roi des pays." Voir Delitzsch, *Beitr. z. Ass.*, t. I, p. 190, où cette lettre est traduite.

XIV

K. 644—Harper, 336

ADAR-AḤ-IDDIN AU ROI DE NINIVE

Écriture babylonienne.


Adar-aḥ-iddin, qui écrit de Babylonie ou de Chaldée, envoie au roi divers renseignements.

Des agents de Nabu-ušallim, un chef du Bit-Dakuri, sont venus de son côté, avec beaucoup d'argent, acheter des chevaux.—Il a demandé à Nabu-ušallim, au nom du roi, de lui livrer certains captifs; Nabu-ušallim ne lui a pas reconnu cette mission.

Adar-aḥ-iddin parle ensuite du mariage des trois filles d'un certain Bel-ikisa. L'histoire en est assez claire, malgré les lacunes que présente la tablette au commencement de cette partie. Bel-ikisa s'est rendu à Babyloine, à Borsippa, et en Bit-Dakuri, où il a

pris, on ne voit pas comment dans l'état du texte, de quoi doter ses filles. Il les donne à tel, tel et tel. Après quoi un chef, du nom de Nabu-dini-amur, intéressé probablement dans ces affaires matrimoniales, fait cadeau à Bel-ikisa d'une propriété considérable, dont il s'est emparé contre tout droit.

RECTO

1. *A-na šarri bi-ili-i arad-ka (h.) Adar-aḥ-iddin-na*
2. *šulmu a-na šarri bi-ili-i*
3. *(h.) Aḥi-ša-a . . . -bit ú (h.) Bll-it . . .*
4. *(amīl) mu-tir ṭi-i-mu ša Nabu-u-šal-lim*
5. *ša (v.) Bit-(h.)-Da-ku-ru kaspu ma-'a-du ina ḫati-šú-nu*
6. *na-šu-u-ni i-da-bu-bu um-ma ni-il-mir*
7. *sisi ni-maḥ-ḫa-ra šarru bi-ili lu-u i-di*
8. *a-na lli (amīl) um-ma-nu (amīl) šakāni*
9. *ú (amīl) šabāni ḫal-ḫu-u-tu ša (h.) Šamaš-ihni*
10. *ša ina pa-an (h.) Nabu-u-šal-lim ša šarru bi-ili iṣ-pu-ra*
11. *ki-i ak-ba aš-šú ul i-man-gur-ma*
12. *ul i-nam-di-na um-ma ša la un-ḫu šarri*
13. *ú ša la (amīl) mutir pu-ti ul a-nam-dan-ka*
14. *(h.) Bil-iḫi-ša(-ša) mar (h.) Bu-na-nu*
15. *a-na Babilī(-ki) ú Bar-sip(-ki)*
16. *ú (v.) Bit-(h.)-Da-ku-ru ki-i il-li-ka*
17. *kiš*  *u-šab-biṣ*
18. *[nu]-ud-ni-i i-ṭi-din*
19. *a-na (h.) Bil-naṣir-[šarri]*
20. *nu i-na-din*

VERSO

21. *[ša-na]-ti marat-su a-n[a]*
22. *mari-šú ša (h.) Na-di-nu amīl ṭi . . .*
23. *i-na Bar-sip(-ki) it-ta-[din]*
24. *ša-lul-ti marat-su a-na mari-šú ša (h.) Za-kir*
25. *(amīl) rab ri'āni ša (d.) Nabu it-ta-din*
26. *(v.) Bit-(h.)-Hu-us-sa-an-ni*
27. *ša lli nār Pili i-na bi-rit Kútu(-ki)*
28. *ú Az(-ki) na-du I C suluppi šú*

XV

K 596.—Harper, 190

KIŞIR AŞŞUR AU ROI DE NINIVE

Kişir-Aššur est chargé de distribuer des maisons bâties par le roi. Il a été accusé d'avoir donné à ses serviteurs des maisons destinées à d'autres. Kişir-Aššur répond à cette accusation, au moins jusqu'à la ligne 27. Au delà, les lacunes du texte ne permettent pas de tenter une traduction. On voit seulement qu'il y est encore question de maisons; c'est probablement la suite du même sujet.

Les lignes 26, 27 parlent de maisons de Dur-Šarrûkin. On peut croire que toute la lettre se rapporte à des maisons de cette capitale, bâtie par Šarrûkin (Sargon), et que la lettre est adressée à ce prince. Sargon (Annales de la salle XIV, ll. 86-89) peupla sa ville avec des captifs de tous les pays qu'il avait subjugués, et un certain nombre d'Assyriens chargés de la surveillance de cette foule étrangère. Les Marhasiens, *Marhasai*, auxquels Kişir-Aššur assigne des demeures (l. 24), sont sans doute de ces captifs. Nous avons cité (n° IV) du même Kişir-Aššur une lettre (K. 623, Harper 191) apprenant à un roi de Ninive, apparemment Sargon, qu'un cyclone a passé sur Dur-Šarrûkin sans causer aucun dommage aux édifices.

RECTO

1. *A-na šarri bi-ili-ia*
2. *arad-ka (h.) Ki-šir-Aššur*
3. *lu šul-mu a-na šarri bi-ili-i*
4. *ina lli bitâti ša (amil) mu-šar-ki-sa-a-ni*
5. *ša sarru bi-ili iš-pur-an-ni ma-a bitâti*
6. *ra-aš-pa-a-ti šî-na ma-a ta-sa-la'-an-ni*
7. *ma-a ba-si ta-[da]-ni a-na (amil) ardâni-ka*
8. *ištu ma-ši-in [ú] la ki-i-tu*
9. *ina pa-an šarri bili-i i-da-bu-ub-u-ni*
10. *(amil) šaku ša šarri bili-i lil-li-ka*
11. *ša ki-i-tu ištū šarri bili-i i-da bu-ub-u-ni*
12. *bitâti an-na-ti ša mu-šar-ki-sa-a-ni*
13. *li-mu-ru šum-ma bitâti ra-aš-pa-a-ti*
14. *šî-na lil-li-ka a-na šarri bili-i*

15. *li-ki-bi ti-mi-i-šu šarru bi-ili*
16. *a-na hi-iš-ti-ia liš-aḥ ma-a a-ta-a*
17. *la ki-i-tu i-si-i-a ta-da-bu-ub*
18. *ina lli bitāti ša (amil) ardāni ša (h.) Šipi-Aššur*
19. *ša šarru bi-ili iš-pur-an-ni na-a a-ta-a*
20. *bitāti-šū-nu ta-aš-ši a-na ardāni-ka*
21. *ta-din a-ki (h.) Šipi-Aššur a-na (v.) Ši-mi-ri*
22. *il-lik-u-ni (amil) ardani-šū i-si-i-šū*
23. *it-tal-ku bitāti-šū-nu at-ti-ši*
24. *a-na (amil) Mar-ḥa-sa-a-a at-ti-din*
25. *(h.) Šipi-Aššur am-ma-ka (amil) piḥ-u-tu*
26. *lu-pi-iš (amil) ardāni-šū bitāti*

VERSO

27. *ina (v.) Dur-Šarrûkin*

(1) Au roi mon maître. (2) Ton serviteur Kišir-Aššur. (3) Salut au roi mon maître. (4, 5) Concernant ce que le roi m'a mandé au sujet des maisons des *mušarkis* en ces termes : "Les maisons (5) ont atteint le faite, et tu me *trompes* (?) (7) et tu donnes à tes serviteurs." (8, 9) On a parlé suivant un *complot* (?) et non en vérité, devant le roi mon maître. (10) Qu'un grand officier du roi se rende sur les lieux, (11) qui dira la vérité au nom du roi mon maître ; (12, 13) qu'il voie ces maisons des *mušarkis*. (13-15) Si ces maisons ont atteint le faite, qu'il reparte, qu'il fasse son rapport au roi mon maître ; (15, 16) que le roi mon maître *soit sévère* (?) pour ma faute. Mais (17) tu as parlé erronément à ma charge.

(18, 19) Concernant ce que le seigneur roi m'a mandé au sujet des maisons des serviteurs de Šipi-Aššur, en ces termes : "Donc (20, 21) tu as pris leurs maisons, tu les a données à tes serviteurs." (21-23) Quand Šipi-Aššur partit pour Šimira, ses serviteurs partirent avec lui. Je pris leurs maisons, (24) je les donnai aux Marḥasiens. (25-27) Que Šipi-Aššur fasse donc sa préfecture, ses serviteurs des maisons à Dur-Šarrûkin.

NOTES

L. 6.—*Tasala'-anni*, tu me *trompes* (?)—L'idée de tromperie et de trahison semble aussi exprimée par le mot *su-ul-li-i*, Fastes de

Nov. 13)

Sargon,
de trahis

L. 7

[*da*]-*ni*.
général

20, 21.

L. 8

passage,

K. 610 (

de cheva

pays de 1

de la ta

j'attenda

les mots

tarri bli

nous suiv

Ki-i-

mot, est

L. 11

part du 1

L. 16

donner 1

par erre

"Que le

L. 20

la ligne 3

L. 21

peu de d

dans les

Ll. 2

ment. (

serviteurs

derniers

Assu
offerts e

Babylone, furent supprimés par son frère Samassumukin, révolté contre lui. D'après cette lettre, cela est fait ou va se faire, bien que les Babyloniens ne se soient pas encore ouvertement déclarés pour Samassumukin, au moment où Assurbanipal l'écrit. Assurbanipal reconnaît que son frère a gouverné à la satisfaction des Babyloniens, mais il affirme que Samassumukin en use ainsi par pure politique. Ils n'en encourraient pas moins la colère des dieux en violant leur serment de fidélité. Il parle d'abord comme si les Babyloniens étaient inébranlablement attachés à sa cause ; il finit cependant par leur demander une prompte réponse qui le rassure, et, comme manifestation publique de leurs sentiments, le maintien ou le rétablissement des sacrifices offerts en son nom.

D'après cette lettre, Samassumukin disait du mal des Babyloniens à Assurbanipal, et d'Assurbanipal aux Babyloniens, pour les brouiller ensemble. Assurbanipal proteste avec serment contre les calomnies dont il est l'objet ; il affirme, la main sur le cœur, qu'il ne croit rien du mal qu'on lui a dit des Babyloniens.

1. *A-bīt šarri ana (amīl) Babilai*
2. *sulmu(-mu) a-a-ši lib-ba-ku-nu*
3. *lu-u-tāb-ku-nu-ši dib-bi ša ša-a-ri*
4. *ša la aḫu a-ga-a id-bu-bak-ku-nu-ši*
5. *gab-bu id-dib-bu-u-ni al-ti-mi-šū-nu*
6. *ša-a-ru la ta-ki-pa-šu ina lib Aššur*
7. *(d.) Marduk ilāni-i at-ta-ma ki-i*
8. *dib-bi bi'-šu-u-ti ma-la*
9. *ina muḫ-ḫi-ia id-bu-bu ina lib-bi-i*
10. *ku-uṣ-ṣu-pa-ku u ina pi-ia*
11. *ak-bu-u al-la nik-lu šu-u*
12. *it-ti-kil um-ma šu-mu ša (amīl) Babilai*
13. *ra-i-ma-ni-šu it-ti-ia lu-ba-iš*
14. *ū a-nu-ku ul a-šim-mi-ši*
15. *aḫu-ut-ku-nu ša it-ti marī*
16. *(mat) Aššur u ki-din-nu-ta-ku-nu ša aḫ-ṣu-ru*
17. *ad-di īli ša in-na šu-u*
18. *it-ti lib-bi-ia at-tu-nu*
19. *aḫ-pit-tim-ma ša-ra-ti-i-šu*
20. *la ta-sim-ma-a šu-un-ku-nu*

(1) A
cœur vou
frère vous
(6) Mens
je jure qu
moi. (9-
c'est une
mette ave
n'écoute
fraternité
(18) Vou

du tout ses mensonges ; (20-22) vous ne gâterez pas votre renom, qui est bon à mes yeux et aux yeux de tous les peuples, (23, 24) et vous ne vous rendrez pas coupables aux yeux du dieu. (25, 26) Et je sais moi, que les ménagements qui sont en votre faveur, vous les jugez définitivement (27) de cette sorte : "Voilà, afin que (28, 29) nous nous attachions à lui, il (Šamaš-šum-ukin) gouverne à notre avantage." Ce n'est pas un avantage. (30, 31) Il n'est pas sincère, comme il le prétend. (31, 32) Mais pour que vous mettiez avec mon colomniateur, (33, 34) il se montre bienfaisant à votre égard. Il induit à pécher (35) contre le serment en face du dieu. Voilà (36, 37) donc que je vous ai envoyé mon message. (37, 38) Si vous ne vous êtes pas souillés avec lui dans ces cabales, (39, 40) que je voie sans retard réponse à ma lettre. (40-42) La portion que j'ai assignée à Bil, que cet homme voué aux coups de Marduk ne me l'arrache pas de la main.

(43) Mois d'Airu, le 23^e jour, année d'Aššur-dur-ušur.

(44) Šamaš-balatsu-iḫbi apporte (la lettre).

NOTES

Ll. 9-11.—*Je pense en mon esprit et je dis de ma bouche*, c'est-à-dire, je dis avec conviction (que je crois à votre innocence).

L. 15-17.—Littéralement : "Je mets au-dessus de ce que le voilà lui"

Le sens est qu'Assurbanipal compte plus sur les dispositions fraternelles des Babyloniens à l'égard des Assyriens et sur leur reconnaissance pour les bienfaits reçus, qu'il ne craint l'abus que Samassumukin peut faire de sa position.

L. 16.—*Kidinnuta*, protection, garantie. Il s'agit de ces franchises de Babylone et autres villes saintes dont il est question dans les prologues des inscriptions de Sargon.

L. 19.—*Appittim* pour *ana pittim*. Cette expression ne me semble pas signifier à l'avenir, bientôt, comme le pense M. Delitzsch, mais à la perfection, tout à fait.

Le premier sens est exclu par ces mots d'une lettre du roi à Belibni (K. 95, H. 288) :

Appitti amilu—ša bit bilāni-šu ira'amu—ša immaru—ū ša išimmū—uznā ša bilāni-šu upatta inna—bani ša tašpura—ša uznā-i tupattū.

"A la bonne heure un homme—qui aime la maison de ses maîtres,—qui voit,—qui entend,—ouvre les oreilles de ses maîtres.

sidère comme ses fidèles serviteurs. Assurbanipal leur fait savoir qu'il n'ajoute pas foi à leurs médisances. Il leur retourne sans l'avoir ouverte (voir note à la ligne 17), une lettre qu'il a reçue d'eux. Il se fie au contraire aux renseignements de ceux avec lesquels on veut le brouiller. Il considère ceux-ci comme les vrais Babyloniens ; il appelle les autres des Non-Babyloniens.

Assurbanipal cite deux proverbes assez curieux. D'abord celui-ci : "Quand le chien du potier va au four, il souffle au gré du potier." De même ceux des Babyloniens qui se sont livrés à Samassumukin, médisent comme lui. Le proverbe suppose que les potiers de Babylone et de Ninive avaient des chiens dressés à faire aller le soufflet de leurs fours, comme on en dresse à tourner la broche ou la roue de la baratte.

Deuxième proverbe : "Une femme jalouse est dans le vestibule du juge. Rêve ! Hélas, c'est son mari qui juge !" De même des Babyloniens se font accusateurs auprès d'Assurbanipal qui ne pense qu'à défendre les accusés.

Assurbanipal semble donner les premiers mots d'un troisième proverbe à la ligne 24. Cette ligne est suivie de 16 autres dont il ne reste presque plus rien.

RECTO

1. *A-mat šarri*
2. *a-na la (amil) Babilai*
3. *šulmu(-mu) a-a-ši*
4. *ina pīt-ti ša pī niši ša-ki-in*
5. *um-ma kalbu ša (amil) paḥaru*
6. *ina lib utunu ki-i i-ru-bu*
7. *a-na lib (amil) paḥari u-nam-paḥ*
8. *in-na at-tu-nu ki-i la pī ilu-ma*
9. *ra-man-ku-nu a-na (amil) Babilai*
10. *tu-ut-ti-ra ū dib-bi la dib-bi*
11. *ša at-tu-nu ū bilu-ku-nu ti-tip-pu-ša*
12. *a-na ili ardāni-i šak-na-tu-nu*
13. *i-na pīt-tim-ma ša pī ša-ki-in*
14. *um-ma zinništi ḥa-di-tu ina bab bit (amil) daiān*
15. *igirru al-la ša mutu-ša da-an*
16. *duppu šārī ū mī (?) ḥa-na-ti-ku-nu*

17. *ša taš-pu-ra-a-ni ina kunukki-ša*
18. *ki-i u-ti-ru ul-ti-bil-ak-ku-nu-ši*
19. *man-di-i-ma ta-ḫab-ba-a*
20. *um-ma mi-na-a u-tir-ra-an-na-ši*
21. *ul-tu (amil) Babilai*

VERSO

22. *ardāni-i ū ra-im-a-ni-ia*
23. *iš-pa-ru-u-ni ki-i ap-tu-u al-ta-lim*
24. *in-na ṭab-at ina ri-i summāti ḫi-it-ti*

(1) Parole du roi (2) aux Non-Babyloniens. (3) Je vais bien. (4) Très à propos ce qui est dans la bouche des gens: (5) "Le chien du potier, (6) quand il est venu au four, (7) souffle au gré du potier." (8) Voilà que vous autres, malgré la parole du dieu, (9, 10) vous vous mettez au nombre des Babyloniens, et les choses inqualifiables (11) que vous et votre maître avez faites, (12) vous les imputez à mes serviteurs.

(13) Très à propos ce qui est dans la bouche (des gens): (14) "Une femme jalouse est à la porte de la maison du juge. (15) Songe! Malheur que c'est son mari qui juge!"

(16) La tablette de vos vains propos et de . . . , (17, 18) l'ayant refusée, je vous la renvoie avec ses sceaux. (19) Peut-être direz-vous: (20) "Que nous retourne-t-il?"

(21, 22) Quand les Babyloniens mes serviteurs et mes amis (23) m'ont écrit, ayant ouvert (leur lettre), je fus réconforté. (24) Voilà qui est bien!

Quand on élève des pigeons, faute

NOTES

Ll. 4, 13.—*Ina pitti*, très à propos, avec justesse. Cette expression a été traduite: *tout à coup, promptement*. Notre passage se refuse absolument à admettre ce sens, et suggère celui que nous avons donné. Il en est de même chez Assurbanipal, Prisme R^a, col. IX, l. 61. Des Arabes qui ont violé leur serment et se sont revoltés, sont vaincus et refoulés dans un lieu désert où ils sont réduits à manger leurs propres enfants. De la sorte, les dieux "régleront leur sort, *exactement, ina pitti*, suivant les malédictions, autant il y en avait d'écrites dans leurs serments".

K. 486 (Harper, 303), le roi écrit à sa mère : " De la manière que la mère du roi l'a dit, je l'ai commandé moi, exactement (*ina pitti*)."—La traduction : "je l'ai commandé aussitôt", qui a été proposée, offre un sens raisonnable, mais est incompatible avec celui de *ina pitti* dans les passages d'Assurbanipal.



Pi, est exprimé ici par l'idéogramme KA, comme aux ll. 8 et 13.

L. 10.—*Dibbi la dibbi*.—Ce passage indique que *dibbu*, comme l'hébreu דִּבְבִּי, signifie *parole*, et aussi *fait, affaire*. Assurbanipal joue sur ce double sens.

L. 14.—*Haditi*, jalouse. Ce sens est établi au numero suivant.

L. 15.—*Igirru*.—Brünnow, 776.—*Dân*, en assonance voulue avec *duân*.

L. 16.—Nous ne sommes pas du tout sûrs de la transcription et de la version des mots de cette ligne, à part le premier, *duppu*, tablette. Il est certain seulement qu'elle ajoute à *duppu* deux compléments qualificatifs de sens défavorable.

Une *tablette de vents*, *duppu šâri*, peut signifier une tablette vide de sens. Ce serait le pendant de l'hébreu דְּבַר רֵיחַ. Il n'est pas impossible non plus que , l'idéogramme de *šaru* vent, ne soit employé ici pour figurer l'homonyme *šaru*, mensonge. L'expression signifierait alors *tablette de mensonges*.  comporte très probablement aussi la lecture *igirtu*, lettre. Mais avec le signe du pluriel, dont il est accompagné ici il faudrait traduire *les tablettes de vos lettres*, et il est manifestement question d'une seule lettre.—*Mi* pourrait signifier *parole* (voir Delitzsch, *Handw.*, p. 395, a).

L. 17.—*Kunukki* ou *kunukkâni*, écriture ideographique avec la marque du pluriel—Les cachets, c'est-à-dire, les empreintes de cachet sur l'enveloppe d'argile. Assurbanipal n'ouvre pas la lettre, dont il devine le contenu par des lettres précédentes, ou par le discours des Babyloniens chargés de présenter la lettre. Voir l'enveloppe de lettre 81-7-27-199A, publiée par Harper, 383.

L. 23.—*Altalim*, pour *astalim*, forme I, 2, de *šalamu*.

XVIII

K. 183.—Harper 2

RAMAN-ŠUM-UŠUR AU ROI D'ASSYRIE

Cette lettre a d'abord été publiée en transcription alphabétique par M. Delitzsch dans son *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 164, 165.

D'après ces traductions, Raman-šum-ušur, dans ce passage rédigé d'ailleurs avec beaucoup de soin, revient d'une façon très inattendue sur l'état des champs, dont il a parlé au commencement. On part de l'idée que *mirišutu* ne peut signifier ici que *plantation*. Mais l'assyrien possède une racine 𐎢𐎢𐎶, d'où l'adjectif *maršu* et le substantif *maruštu*, qu'on s'accorde à traduire respectivement *sale*, *misérable* (comme le latin *squalidus*), — *malheur*, *calamité*. La même racine a pu donner le mot *mirrišu* ou *mirišu* (comme *šihhiru*, *šihiru*), que pour notre compte nous trouvons ici avec le sens fondamental de *sale*, déterminé par le contexte à celui de *loqueteux*, *dépenaillé*.

𐎢𐎢𐎶 𐎢𐎢𐎶 (ku) *sippi*, désigne des vêtements (et vu le contexte, des vêtements magnifiques), comme l'a soupçonné M. S. Alden Smith, sans toutefois adopter ce sens, qui lui semblait exclu par le contexte (*Proceedings*, t. X, p. 177). Mais ce sens est formellement indiqué V Rawlinson, pl. 28, l. 56, c-d, où 𐎢𐎢𐎶 𐎢𐎢𐎶 (ku) *sipu*, figure dans une liste de noms de vêtements, en face de l'équivalent 𐎶𐎢𐎶 𐎢𐎢𐎶. — (𐎶𐎢𐎶 𐎢𐎢𐎶 = *šubātu*, vêtement, Brunnow, 1941). Dans le même liste se présente aussi le nom de vêtement *illuku* (ll. 65, d, et 67, c), et la tablette K. 1204 (Harper, 29) joint également *illuku* à notre mot : 𐎢𐎢𐎶 𐎢𐎢𐎶 𐎢𐎢𐎶 *ša šarri illuku* (ll. 12, 13). Les 𐎢𐎢𐎶 𐎢𐎢𐎶 du roi sont sans doute de riches vêtements.

Faut-il lire le mot *kusippi*, *kusipu* (V. Raw. pl. 28), ou bien *sippi*, *sipu*, en considérant 𐎢𐎢𐎶 comme le déterminatif aphone des noms de vêtements? Cette dernière lecture est indiquée par la liste citée, où figure le mot *si-pu-u*, l. 64, d, immédiatement avant *illuku*.

Après avoir fait, en manière d'exorde, l'éloge du roi, Raman-šum-ušur en vient au sujet de la lettre. Il se déclare au comble de la douleur, lui et son fils Arad-Gula, au milieu de ceux qui se réjouissent des bienfaits du roi (31, 32) :

Ini bir-tu-šu-nu ik-ki-ni ku-ri lib-bi-ni ša-pil. "Au milieu d'eux notre âme est souffrante, notre cœur est abattu."

Ikki se présente dans la lettre suivante (l. 21) et forme comme ici le pendant de *libbi*. Au sens propre, il désigne probablement quelque organe regardé comme spécialement sensible. *Kuri* est un adjectif et signifie souffrant, malade. La lettre Sm. 1064 (H. 392) est un rapport sur l'état d'un homme *ša kuri inl-šu*, "dont les yeux sont malades (l. 11)".

La douleur de Raman-šum-ušur et d'Arad-Gula vient de ce que

le roi ne les a pas compris dans l'invitation faite aux principaux citoyens de Ninive de lui présenter leurs fils pour son service :

Suit alors ceci (35-39) :

(h.) *Arad-Gula*

mar-a-a šu-u is-si-šú-nu-ma ina pa-an šarri

bíl-ia li-zi-iz—a-ni-nu ina niši-ma

gab-bu lu ha-di-a-ni ni-ir-kuḍ—

šarra bi-ili ni-ik-ru-ub

Ce qui signifie d'après nous :

"Qu'Arad-Gula, mon fils, puisse lui (aussi) se trouver avec eux en présence du roi mon maître—Nous tressaillirions au milieu de tous, quelque jaloux qu'ils fussent ;—nous bénirions le roi."

Les verbes *nirkuḍ* et *nikrub* n'ont pas le sens optatif qu'on leur a donné. Ils ne l'ont point par eux-mêmes ; il faudrait qu'on eût : *lu nirkuḍ, lu nikrub*. L'exemple que l'on cite, dubitativement, d'un prétérit optatif sans la particule, est un simple futur ou un cohortatif. Ce sont les princes Égyptiens qui disent au roi de Kûsi (Assurbanipal, Prisme Rⁿ I, 126) : *Mata aḥinna nizuz, nous partagerons, ou parlerons le pays de ce côté-ci*. *Nirkuḍ* et *nikrub* n'ont pas davantage le sens optatif sous l'influence de *lu* dont ils sont séparés par *ḥadiani*. Il faudrait justifier ce sens par des exemples de la même construction. Mais on n'en apporte aucun, bien que la phrase optative se rencontre fréquemment dans les documents assyriens de toute espèce. Il reste, pour *nirkuḍ* et *nikrub*, le sens conditionnel, dont le contexte s'accommode sans peine. Le prétérit est apte à l'exprimer, comme nous l'avons démontré à propos des lettres étudiées aux numéros X et XI.

Lu devant *ḥadiani*, est le *lu* de l'affirmation énergique. *Hadiani* a naturellement le même sens ici que *ḥadianuti* (autre forme de pluriel) dans le passage qui termine la lettre, et où il s'applique aux mêmes hommes, sans qu'il soit possible de le traduire par *joyeux*, suivant le sens ordinaire de la racine 𐎶𐎶𐎶.

"Mes yeux reposent sur le roi," dit ensuite Raman-šum-ušur, (ll. 39, 40). Cela signifie qu'il compte sur le roi, et sur le roi seul, car il ajoute aussitôt que personne ne l'aime assez, parmi ceux qui approchent du roi, pour prendre en main ses intérêts. Puisse le roi avoir pitié de lui ! Et il insiste sur ce souhait dans deux autres propositions optatives, qui terminent sa lettre (ll. 47-49) :

Ina bir-ti niši gab-bu a-na-ku lu la- . .
—ha-di-a-nu-ti-ia mar lib-bi-šu-nu
ina ili-ia lu la i-ma-ši-u-[ni]

“ Puissé-je ne pas à la vue de tout le monde. — mes envieux n'obtiennent pas à mon détriment l'objet des désirs de leur cœur.”

M. Delitzsch a bien vu que *ha-di-a-nu-ti*, ne pouvait signifier ni *amis*, ni *joyeux*, mais en lisant (ce qui est possible en soi) *ha-di-a-nu-ti-ia*, il abouti au sens un peu forcé de : *meine Frevler*. — *amertume*, de la racine מרר (comme *šar*, *roi*, de la racine שר) ; on peut être rendu ici que par une périphrase.

XIX

Rm. 76.—Harper 358

RAMAN-ŠUM-UŠUR AU ROI D'ASSYRIE

Cette lettre a le même cachet très spécial que celle que nous venons d'analyser. Elle émane sans doute du même personnage.

Raman-šum-ušur remercie le roi, qui vient de l'appeler, lui-même et les fils de ses oncles paternels, à le servir dans des fonctions qui les mettent en relations directes avec sa personne. Il n'est pas question d'un fils de Raman-šum-ušur qui serait compris dans la distinction accordée. Ainsi les remerciements ne se rapportent pas à la grâce sollicitée, dans la lettre dont nous nous sommes occupés au numéro XVIII, pour Arad-Gula fils de Raman-šum-ušur. A la fin de la lettre que nous allons essayer d'expliquer, Raman-šum-ušur compte pour ses enfants sur les faveurs futures du roi. Cette lettre est donc antérieure à celle du numéro XVIII.

La faveur dont Raman-šum-ušur remercie le roi semble avoir été précédée d'une disgrâce (l. 35).

Les lignes 38-44, sont inspirées par cette idée, développée dans la lettre analysée au n° XVIII, que la faveur du roi peut assurer la fortune et la vie à ceux qui en sont l'objet.

RECTO

1. *A-na šarri bi-ili-ia arad-ka (h.) Raman-šum-ušur*
2. *lu-u sulmu(-mu) a-na šarri bi-ili-ia*

3. *Aššur (d.) Bilit (d.) Sin (d.) Šamaš (d.) Raman*
4. *(d.) Marduk (d.) Zar-pa-ni-tum (d.) Nabu (d.) Tas-mi-tum*
5. *(d.) Istar ša Ninua(-ki) (d.) Istar ša (v.) Arba-il*
6. *(d.) Adar (d.) Adar (d.) Lam (?) (d.) La-as*
7. *ilāni rabūti ša šami-i irši-tim ú ilāni rabūti*
8. *a-bu-ti (mat) Aššur(-ki) (mat) Akkad(-ki) a-na šarri bi-ili-i*
9. *a-dan-niš a-dan-niš lik-ru-bu*
10. *tu-ub lib-bi tu-ub širi ūmī arkūti*
11. *šī-bī-ti li-tu-ti pa-li-ti ša nu-uh-ši*
12. *a-na šarri bi-ili-ia li-di-nu šumu ú ziru*
13. *pir'u lil-li-du a-na šarri bi-ili-i li-ib-šū*
14. *šur-šu-ka li-iš-mu-ḥu li-rap-pi-šū [f]-li*
15. *ša šarru bil šarrā-ni bi-ili iš-pu-ra-an-ni*
16. *ma-a u-ma-a lib-ba-ka li-ti-ib-ka*
17. *ik-naḥ (?) pī aḥ-ḥu-ur-ru la i-ka-ru*
18. *ša da-ba-bi an-ni-i ṭabī ip-ši-ti*
19. *an-ni-ti di-iḫ-ti ša ina pan (?) ilu amilu(?) -ti*
20. *ma-aḥ-rat-u-ni ša šarru bi-ili i-pu-šū-u-ni*
21. *a-na-ku aḥ-ḥu-ur ik-ki u-ka-rad*
22. *lib-bi u-ša-aš-al a-ki sa abu a-na marī-šū*
23. *i-pu-uš-u-ni šarru bi-ili a-na (amil) ardi-šū*
24. *i-ta-pa-aš ištu bit i-mi i-bi-ši-u-ni (i-gaš-ši-u-ni ?)*
25. *man-nu šarru ša a-ki an-ni-i a-na (amil) ardi-šū*
26. *damīḫ-tu i-pu-uš-u-ni ú a-a-u*

ARÊTE

27. *bil ṭabti ša a-ki an-ni-i*
28. *a-na bil ṭabti-šu ṭa-ab-tu*
29. *u-tir-ru-u-ni a-ki ḥa-an-ni-ma*
30. *ilāni rabūti ša šami-i irši-tim*

VERSO

31. *ṭa-ab-tu di-iḫ-tu a-na li-ip li-pi*
32. *ša šarri bi-ili-ia a-du šami-i irši-tim*
33. *da-ru-u-ni li-pu-šū a-ki da-ba-bi*

34. *an-ni-u tábûti ip-ši-tu an-ni-tu di-ik-tu*
 35. *ša šarru bi-ili i-pu-uš-u-ni aš-mu-u-ni*
 36. *a-mur-u-ni lib-bi i-ṭi-ba-an-ni ib-tal-ṭa*
 37. *am-mar ša alpi in-ti-ši pa-ni-ia ni-ku-ti*
 38. *i-sa-a-mu ki an-ni-ma ina lib da-ru-ti*
 39. *ša šarru bi-ili-i šarru bi-ili ip-pa-ar-ši-ma-an-ni*
 40. *a-ki ša ištu šarri bi-ili-i ki-na-ku-u-ni*
 41. *ina mu-ti šim-ti la mu-tú šarra bi-ili liš-pu-ka*
 42. *rišiti-a ina libbi ša ša-a-u i-ni-šú-u-ni a-na a-a-ši*
 43. *lu-ka-ni-šú-u-ni a-na marī-a šarru bi-ili ki-i an-ni-ma*
 44. *annu liš-kun šarru bi-ili mar-marī-šu-nu lu-par-ši-im*
 45. *ša šarru bi-ili iš-pur-an ma-a atta mar-aḫi-ka*
 46. *mar-aḫi abi-ka up-ta-ḫi-ra-ku-nu ina pani ta-za-sa*
 47. *ki-i ḫa-an-ni-ma Aššur a-du ḫin-ni-šu (d.) Bil u (d.) Nabu*
 48. *a-du ḫin-ni-šu-nu ilani rabûti ša šami-i irši-tim adu ḫin(?)*
 ni-šu-nu
 49. *šumu siru pir'u lib-li-du na-na-bu ša šarri bi-ili-i*
 50. *lu-pa-ḫi-ru ina pani-šú-nu lu-ša-zi-zu adi šami-i*
 51. *irši-tim da-ru-u-ni šu-nu lu mu-ma'-ru-ti*
 52. *ša kal matâti ki-i di-ik a-ki-i ṭab*
 53. *a-ki-i na-si-ik a-ki-i sa-du-ur a-ki-i ku-nu*
 54. *ša šarru bi-ili i-pu-uš-u-ni šarru bi-ili*
 55. *li-iṭ-ṭu i-tt-šir u su bat tu un-ḫi*
 56. *a-na-ma-ḡar(?) ina ku(?)-tal-lim ina ili (h.) Lam(?)*
 šarru-šu
 57. *(h.) Nabu-nadin-šum aḫi-šú ša šarru bi-ili*
 58. *ṭi-i-mu iš-kun-an-ni-ni*
 59. *ina gab-bi a-ḫi-ia as-si-mi*
 60. *a-di iš-ri šanitu*

(1) Au roi mon maître. Ton serviteur Raman-šum-ušur. (2) Salut au roi mon-maître. (3) Aššur, Bilit, Sin, Šamaš, Raman, (4) Marduk, Zarpanitum, Nabu, Tasmitum, (5) Ištar de Ninua, Ištar d'Arbail, (6) Adar, Lam(?), Laz, (7) les grands dieux du ciel et de la terre, et les grands dieux (8) pères du pays d'Aššur et d'Akkad, (8, 9) qu'ils soient grandement, grandement propices au roi mon maître. (10-12) Qu'ils donnent bien-être du cœur, bien-être du corps, longs jours, rassasiement de postérité, des années d'abondance, au roi mon

NOTES

L. 6.—*Adar Adar*, répétition qui est sans doute l'effet d'une distraction. Une répétition semblable se rencontre à la ligne 39.

Ll. 12, 13.—Il est à peine nécessaire de dire que nous ne nous flattons pas d'avoir rendu avec sa nuance chacun des synonymes accumulés dans ces lignes, ainsi qu'à la ligne 49.

L. 21.—*Ikki*, voir au n° XIX l'interprétation des lignes 31, 32.

L. 22.—Le sens donné à *ušašal* nous est inspiré par le mot *tašiltu*, plaisir, jouissance, qui a probablement la même racine.

L. 37.—*Intiši* pour *imtiši*.

L. 38.—*I-sa-a-mu* pour *iš-ta-a-mu*, forme I, 2, de *šamu*, rac שים.

L. 39.—*Ipparšim*, si ce n'est pas une expression graphique inexacte pour *iparsim*, est une forme niph'al à sens transitif comme *ippalis* = il regarda.

L. 42.—*Risiti*. Voir Brünnow, 9658.

L. 44.—*Annu*. Voir Brünnow, 4530.

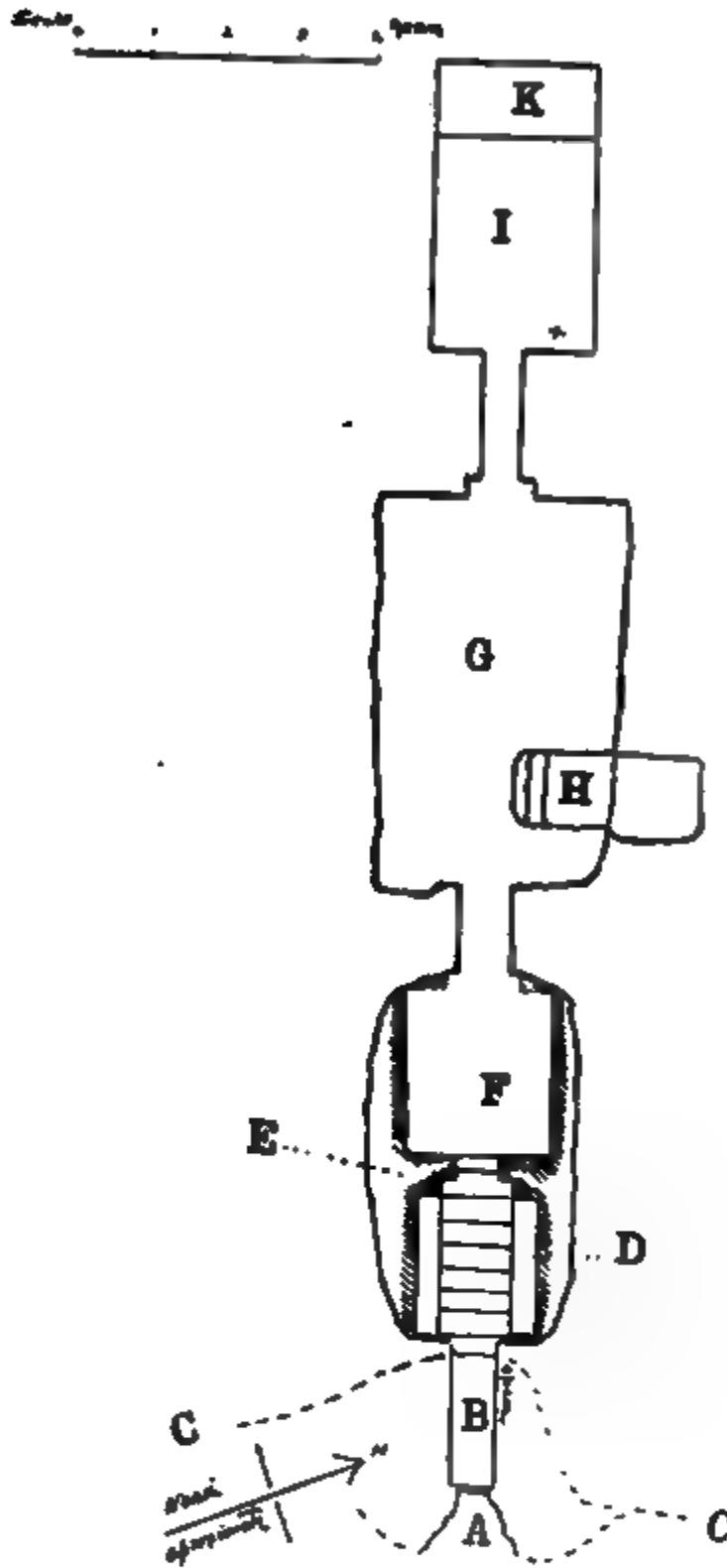
L. 46.—Le dernier caractère du groupe <|~ |>>> >|| est marqué comme douteux, mais le contexte le justifie. Peut-être au lieu de *dani*, faut-il lire *i-ni* (yeux), mais le sens resterait le même.



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PLATE I.



- A Entrance into side of shaft.
- B Shaft.
- C C Ridge of the hill.
- D Mud-brick staircase.
- E Rough rock-cut chambers.
- F Vaulted chamber.
- G Rock-cut chamber.
- H Ditto leading out of G.
- I Sepulchral chamber.
- K Position of sarcophagus.
- x Position of wall-painting (Pl. II).

PLAN OF THE TOMB OF PA-SHEDU.

PLATE II.

WALL-PAINTING IN THE SEPULCHRAL CHAMBER.

NOTICES.

SUBSCRIPTIONS to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount, £1 1s., at once to Messrs. Lloyds' Bank, Limited, 16, St. James's Street, S.W.

PAPERS proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having NEW MEMBERS to propose, are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council.

A few complete sets of the publications of the Society can be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. HARRY RYLANDS, 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

As the new list of members will shortly be printed, Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. IX of the *Transactions*.

The Index to Vol. XXIII will be sent with the *Proceedings* of January next.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-FIRST SESSION, 1901.

Seventh Meeting, 11th December, 1901.

F. LEGGE, Esq.

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From Walter L. Nash, F.S.A. :—Königliche Museen. Abtheilung den Aegyptischen alterthumer. Die Wandgemälde, 37 Tafeln nebst erklärang von R. Lepsius. Berlin, 1882. Folio.

From Walter L. Nash, F.S.A.—Travels in Nubia. By the late John Lewis Burckhardt. Second Edition. 4to. London, 1822.

From F. Legge :—Books on Egypt and Chaldæa :—

Vol. V. Assyrian Language : Easy Lessons in Cuneiform Inscriptions. By L. W. King, M.A.

Vols. VI., VII., VIII. The Book of the Dead. An English translation of the Theban Recension, with Supplementary Chapters, Hymns, &c., and nearly 400 Vignettes which do not appear in the larger edition published in 1897. By E. A. Wallis Budge, Litt.D.

From Mrs. Offord :—Actes du Premier Congrès International des Religions, Paris, 1900. Première Partie, Séances Générales. Paris, 8vo., 1901.

From the Author :—William F. Warren. Babylonian and Pre-Babylonian Cosmology. *American Oriental Society*. Vol. XXII. 1901.

—— The Origin of the Pentateuch. *Biblical World*. Vol. XVIII. 1901.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated in November :—

The Hon. Mrs. Gordon, East Dene, Bonchurch, Isle of Wight.

Rev. Charles White, A.K.C.L., Ladstock, Boyne Park, Tunbridge Wells.

L. Forrer, Edelweiss, Chislehurst.

The following Paper was read :—

The Hon. Miss Plunket. The Chinese Calendar, with some remarks in reference to that of the Chaldeans.

Remarks were added by Miss Ingram, Miss Plunket Mr. F. D. Mocatta, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

THE CHINESE CALENDAR, WITH SOME REMARKS WITH REFERENCE TO THAT OF THE CHALDEANS.

BY THE HON. E. M. PLUNKET.

The Chinese lunar zodiac is divided into 28 star groups named *Siou*. Gustav Schlegel in his "Uranographie Chinoise" having enumerated these 28 *siou*—or as he translates that term, "domiciles"—says: "La première chose qui nous frappe en voyant la liste des 28 domiciles, c'est qu'elle commence par le domicile *Kio*, ou la Vierge, preuve positive que c'était avec cette domicile que l'année a du commencer primitivement," and further on he quotes from "le Eul-yu . . . cette antique dictionnaire," as follows: "L'ancien des constellations, c'est *Kio* et *Kang*, ils sont les chefs des domiciles et à cause de cela on les nomme 'l'ancien des constellations' et le signe d'ancien des constellations est exactement les domiciles *Kio* et *Kang*." Schlegel adds: "Le nom de ancien des constellations répond exactement à celui de 'Princeps Signorum' que les astrologues romains donnerent au Bélier; à l'époque où cette constellation était signe de l'équinoxe du printemps: c'est-à-dire, le signe qui annonçait le commencement de l'année était le premier, le princeps signorum, l'ancien, le chef des constellations. Mais les étoiles de la Vierge portent encore d'autres noms qui tous ont rapport au fait astronomique que l'asterism *Kio* ouvrait l'année. Le Sing-king: les nomme les chefs des quatre régions, les légions célestes, *Elles président aux métamorphoses de la création: elles sont traversées par l'écliptique et les sept clartés (7 planets) commencent leurs revolutions par elles.*"

The words from the Sing-king which I have marked in italics—giving as they do the opinions held by ancient *Chinese* writers respecting the first divisions of their lunar zodiac—may remind us of the opinions held by *Indian* astronomers as to their first division of the zodiac.

In Whitney's comments on the *Suria Sidhanta* he observes:—"The initial point of the fixed Hindu sphere, from which longitudes are reckoned, and at which the planetary motions are held by all

schools of Hindu astronomy to have commenced at the creation, is the end of the asterism Revati, or the beginning of Ashwini."

It is impossible to read of these two traditions concerning the initial point of the Chinese and of the Hindu ecliptic series of constellations, without suspecting some underlying cause common to both traditions.

The Chinese and Hindu initial points are diametrically opposite to each other on the ecliptic. Calendrically speaking, such opposite points may be taken to mark the same season and the same month—as for instance—in the old Accadian calendar the month names referred to the stars in *conjunction* with the sun. The month of the right-making sacrifice corresponded to the month during which the sun was in conjunction with the sacrificial *Ram*. This same month counted (theoretically) from the arrival of the sun at the end of Revati and beginning of Ashwini—the initial point of the Indian zodiac—is in India called, after the *star group in opposition*, Chaitra.

Spica (α Virginis) is the chief star of the Nackshattra Chaitra, and Spica also is the chief star of the Chinese siou *Kio*, "l'asterism," which, according to the tradition above recorded, "ouvrait l'année," and which (together with the neighbouring "siou *Kang*), président aux métamorphoses de la création," "sont traversée par l'écliptique, et les sept clartés commencent leurs révolutions par elles."

To any interested in the history of the Chinese calendar, or rather to any interested in the history of the human race, the question as to the reason for the choice of this point and for the equal honour in which it was held (as we have seen) by the Accadian, the Hindu, and the Chinese nations, is a question worthy of close attention.

In former Papers contributed to these *Proceedings*, I have drawn attention to the many indications in ancient cuneiform and Indian literature, which seem to point to the conclusion that about 6000 B.C., in some part of Asia and in a latitude probably as far north as 45 degrees, a calendar was instituted by "some ancient race of men," that this calendar dealt with a year beginning at the season of the *Winter Solstice*, and that the stars which at that date were chosen to mark the solstitial year were those in the first degrees of the constellation Aries in *conjunction* with—and the bright star Spica in *opposition* to—the sun. I suggested that the Accadians and later Babylonians, as also the Aryans of India, continued to follow as star-marks for their years the constellations chosen by the institutors of this ancient calendar, and that therefore in the course

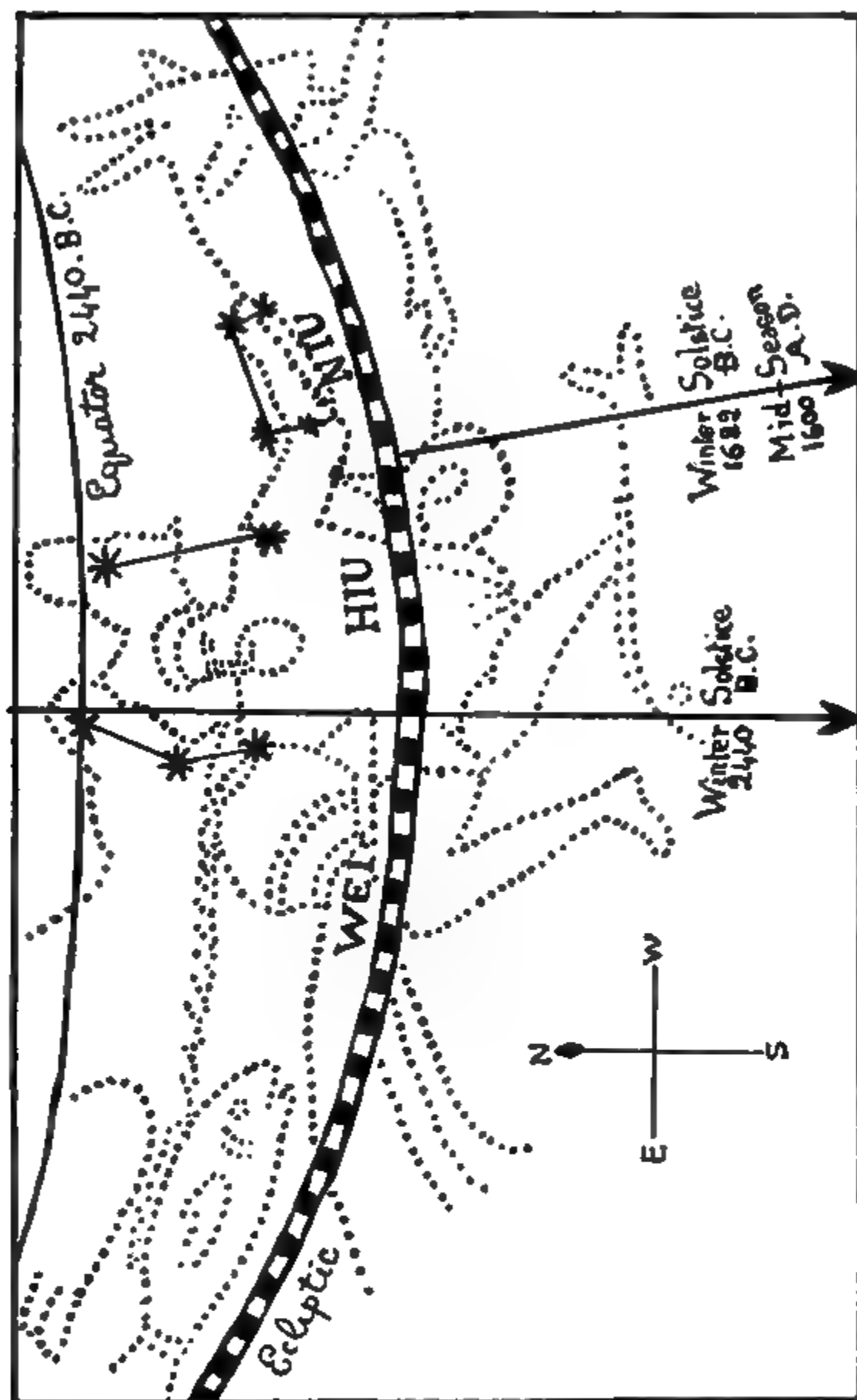
Rome in Cæsar's time, but the length of the year estimated by them was twelve minutes greater than that arrived at by the astronomers of Gregory's later date.

To find, as we do, in the far east of Asia a people counting the length of their luni-solar year with the same accurate exactness as that only attained to as late as 1582 A.D. in Europe, might well cause us surprise, were it not that history furnishes us with an easy explanation of this exact identity of Chinese and European calendrical calculations, by teaching us that the calendar by which the Chinese now count their years, and by which they have counted them for nearly three hundred years, was really compiled at Peking by Roman ecclesiastics, to whom the Gregorian methods were well known, and for whom, indeed, the study of these methods must have possessed the charm of novelty added to their intrinsic utility and scientific interest.

Two learned Jesuit Fathers obtained in the 17th century great influence at the Chinese Court. In 1600 A.D., Matteo Rimi "was allowed with his companions to settle at Peking, where he spent the remainder of his life in teaching mathematics and other sciences."

In 1610, Johann Adam von Schall, another learned Jesuit Father, "was selected in consequence of his great knowledge of mathematics and astronomy to form one of a mission to China, and was "ultimately invited by the Imperial Court at Peking, where *he was entrusted with the compilation of the calendar* and the direction of the public mathematical school.

Under these circumstances, when we read that "according to the Chinese work, *Wan-nian-shu* (or ten thousand-year calendar), in which the elements of the Chinese calendar from 1624 A.D. until 1921 A.D. are calculated by the Astronomical Board at Peking, the earliest date of the Chinese New Year's Day is January 21st, and the latest February 20th." When we read this and remember that Johann Adam von Schall was in 1624 in charge of the compilation of the calendar at Peking, we need feel no surprise to find "the elements of the Chinese calendar" calculated in advance for 279 tropical, that is Gregorian years. Indeed the influence of the European ecclesiastic in these calculations is clearly to be recognised in their very form, for we are easily reminded by it of the "Table to find Easter from the present time to—such and such a year—A.D. inclusive," prefixed to our English books of common prayer. And we may be tempted to smile when we see the jealously conservative



DOMICILES NIU, HIU AND WEI, OF THE CHINESE LUNAR ZODIAC.

and that of the winter solstice far distant from it—that this historian made what he may well have considered a necessary correction in the record with which he was dealing, and substituted the “first day of spring” for the “mid-winter season.” Nor need we much blame him for making such a correction, when we find ourselves driven by stress of modern enlightenment to correct his correction and to read mid-winter where he has written beginning of spring.

Let us now read with due corrections, between square brackets, the record of Tchuen Hio's reformation of the calendar as given in the *Grande Histoire de la Chine*.

“Tchuen Hio . . . profitant de la paix dont jouissait l'empire, transféra sa cour à Kao-yang. Ce fut dans cette ville, que toujours passionné pour la connaissance des astres, il établit une espèce d'Académie, composée des lettrés les plus habiles en cette science. On recueillit toutes les observations anciennes, qu'on compara avec les modernes, et on poussa l'Astronomie à un degré de perfection surprenant. Les règles sûres qu'ils établirent pour supputer les mouvements du soleil et de la lune, des planètes, et des étoiles fixes, acquirent à Tchuen Hio le titre glorieux de fondateur de la vraie Astronomie. C'est une perte que ces règles ne soient pas venues jusqu' à nous.

“Après plusieurs années de travail, Tchuen Hio détermina qu'à l'avenir l'année commencerait à la lune la plus proche du premier jour du printemps [proche du Solstice d'hiver] qui vient vers le 15° du Verseau ; [vers le Siou Hiu] et comme il savait par le calcul qu'il en avait fait, que dans une des années de son règne les planètes devaient se joindre dans la constellation Xe (constellation qui occupe 17° dans le ciel, et dont le milieu est vers le 6° des Poissons) il choisit cette année-là pour la première de son calendrier, d'autant plus que cette même année le soleil et la lune se trouvaient en conjonction, le premier jour du printemps [le jour du Solstice d'hiver].”

It may of course be objected to the proposed correction of the *season* in this passage as follows: granting that either the star mark *Hiu* or the *spring season* said to have been chosen by Tchoueu Hio, must have been erroneously recorded in the *Grande Histoire*, the probabilities are equal as to which element in the statement is or is not true. Tchuen Hio may have chosen the moon nearest to the first day of spring, and may have named some constellation other than *Hiu* near to which this first moon was in conjunction with the

which the Chinese were for the future to count their years from the *solstice*, and from conjunction of sun and moon close to the star group *Hiu*. But we also know that the following of these sure rules was an impossibility. Either the season or the star mark must in the long course of ages have been abandoned. The Chinese, as we learn from their history, under various dynasties, attempted, with more or less success, to count their years from the new moon nearest to the winter solstice: but for the most part, as I would suggest, they followed the *star mark* and not the *season* appointed for the beginning of the year by Tchuen Hio. And thus following the star mark, the beginning of their year imperceptibly receded from the Solstice, and approached the Spring equinox so that in 1600 A.D. the Jesuit fathers found the year still beginning at the new moon "*vers le Siou Hiu,*" and hence at the season midway between solstice and equinox.

In a former Paper contributed to these *Proceedings*,* I suggested that in the inscription engraved on Gudea's diorite statue we had evidence of a reform of the already existing Accadian calendar—in use from a date much earlier than Gudea's in the neighbouring Babylonian kingdom.—

Gudea's date is placed by scholars at about 2800 B.C.—not much earlier than at that claimed in the Chinese History for Tchuen Hio.

Much honour is given by this priestly ruler of Lagash "to Ningirsu, and to the goddess Bau, his beloved consort," and the concluding lines of the inscription run as follows:—

"On the day of the beginning of the year, the day of the festival of Bau, on which offerings were made: one calf, one fat sheep, two rams, seven *pat* of dates, seven *sab* of cream, seven palm buds.

"Such were the offerings made to the goddess Bau in the ancient temple on that day."

The generally received opinion as to Ningirsu (Ninip) is, that he was the god of the "southern sun"; and, as I contended in my Paper, the *southern sun*, if we think of the sun in its *yearly*, not merely in its daily course, may fitly represent the sun of the winter solstice, while the goddess Bau = Gula is the goddess by whose very name the constellation Aquarius, as we may assume, was designated in the Accadian astrological texts.

If from Gudea's inscription concerning the new year's festival a

* February, 1896.

reform in the calendar of Lagash may be inferred, by which beginning of the year had been transferred from the stars of *♈* to those of Aquarius, we should find that the Lagash inscription, "the great history of China," tell us the same story—the La inscription supplementing the Chinese history in this important point—that whereas the account of Tchuen Hio's reform has manifestly more or less garbled in its long descent through human hands: that of Gudea's new year's festival is contemporaneous, an utterly untampered-with account. It is also of some moment to note one curious point of resemblance in the idea connected with the stars of Aquarius, by the astronomers of countries so far distant from each other as China and Mesopotamia. Hiu, as we have learnt, may be translated as "Vacuum," and the name of the goddess Bau or Bahu bears very much the same signification.

If we now accept Tchuen Hio's reformation as a re-adjustment of a previously-existing sidereal and originally solstitial calendar, we are at once given the clue to the two so similar Hindu and Chinese traditions quoted above, concerning the initial point of their lunar zodiacs: and we shall recognize that *Kio*—containing the star *♋*,—*in opposition to*, and the first degrees of Ashwini, *in conjunction with*, the sun, obtained the posts of leaders of the lunar series for the same reason—namely, *that they marked the beginning of the year at the winter solstice 6000 B.C.*

To this same cause I have here, and elsewhere, attributed the fact that in the Accadian calendar the stars of Aries held the same position, and marked the *first* month of the year, as the month of the "right-making sacrifice."



In thus tracing back the history of the calendars of the ancient nations of the East, in observing the identity of their earliest astronomical traditions, and noting the curious points of contact and divergence in their later scientific and mythological ideas, the impression seems to force itself upon us more and more definitely that before the races of mankind were "scattered abroad upon the face of all the earth," their ancestors were capable of great scientific achievements, and possessed in common high intellectual aspirations.




We in these later days, so picturing to ourselves the past, may be freshly struck by the words of the ancient history, which tell us of the time when "the whole earth was of one language and one speech."

SOME EGYPTIAN WEIGHTS IN PROF. PETRIE'S COLLECTION.

BY A. E. WEIGALL.

Having lately been engaged in weighing, classifying, and sketching a portion of the collection of Egyptian weights at the Edwards' Library, University College, I have been asked by Prof. Petrie to publish this account, which has been written with his assistance throughout. Mr. Petrie's collection of weights is far and away the most important and extensive in the world; and in selecting a number for publication in this article, I leave untouched a vast quantity of all standards and forms, some of which are unpublished, while others have been figured and discussed in the yearly *Memoirs*—especially in "Illahun." Were it not for these *Memoirs*, the literature on the subject would be almost *nil*; for besides two valuable articles on the weights and measures by Mr. Ll. Griffith which appeared in these *Proceedings*, June, 1892, and May, 1893, and Mr. Petrie's own article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, nothing of much importance has been written on Egyptian weights. This is all the more surprising, as the subject is one of engrossing interest, not only in that through it the old Egyptian transactions are able to be appreciated and understood by us, but also because we see in it the origin of the later systems of weights.


Before discussing the weights it will be well to speak of the systems into which they divide themselves. The most common standard in Egypt was that of the  *Kedet*, or *Kat*, as it was formerly called. Its weight ranged from about 136 to 156 grains, according to the local basis; and at ten times its value stood the  *Deben*—formerly called *uten*. As was the case in many of the standards, the half or double unit was very common, while in one instance—No. 7023—we have an eighth of a four-kedet unit. The *Kedet* system is, generally speaking, only known to date from the XVIIIth dynasty. There is one weight, however—No. 7005—perhaps to be valued as 25 kedets, which dates from the time of King Zer.

Probably the oldest system is the Gold standard, of which this collection has a wonderful number. This unit was probably known in prehistoric times, and an undoubted gold weight of Dynasty O is recorded in this account, while many date from the XIIth dynasty, or earlier. As is just the reverse of the case in most systems, the gold weights can often be told by their forms. They are usually square or oblong—generally the latter, and often have slightly domed tops and rounded edges. In most cases they are inscribed, the numeral being sometimes preceded by . The only exceptions to this rule of formation are an almond shaped weight from the tomb of King Zer (No. 7046), and three weights of small values, Nos. 7047, 7049, and 7050, two of which were not found in Egypt. The gold units may be anything between 190 and 215 grains, though from the fact that this weight of Dynasty O reaches 218, it seems that the earlier standard was a trifle higher. It is interesting to note the combinations of the Assyrian or Babylonian shekel standard with the gold weights. No. 7034 was originally 30 shekels in value, but was adapted to the other standard as “9” gold units. No. 7037 was at first  “ten gold” (as a matter of fact ten half units of 100.26 grains), but later became eight Assyrian shekels. And again No. 7033 was no doubt once a Babylonian half mina, *i.e.*, 30 shekels, but is inscribed  “19” gold.

It will thus be seen that the Assyrian shekel is also one of the early systems. Its value varies from 117 to 132 grains; and next to the kedet it is the most commonly found in Egypt. It must be noted, by the way, that the scarab formation, of which there are three specimens in this standard, is a little doubtful. Though these specimens weigh correctly, they may be only ornaments or amulets, like other scarabs. Another standard, the Attic drachma, was in full use in Egypt in the sixth century B.C., and continued till a very late date with these, and in Greece. It weighed 128 to 138 grains, and overlapped the Assyrian shekels on the one side and the Egyptian kedets on the other, being usually distinguished from these by its multiples. The Æginetan drachma basis—93 to 100 grain units—which also had a long existence, was the later form of the gold standard.

The Phœnician shekel system was in use in Egypt in the IVth dynasty, as may be seen from No. 7076. It was probably


derived from the Assyrian shekel, and had a value of 208 to 236 grains. Lastly, the Persian siglos weights must be mentioned. Only few of these are known in Egypt, and all range between 84 and 88 grains. Beginning in early Persian history, and introduced into Egypt during the Persian dynasties, they were still in use in Roman Gaul. In form they are often peculiar, and only one inscribed specimen is known (No. 7087), which, by the way, shows a *four-siglos* unit.






As has already been said, the form goes for almost nothing in the classification of the weights. The common types—shaped as Nos. 7006, 7010, 7016, 7035, 7038, etc.—are found in all systems; and the ornamental forms are not much more restricted. In the animal formations the Phœnician standard can claim one of the only two known frog types, and the solitary hedgehog. The lion and bull formations, however, are common to several standards. The duck, too, was represented in weights of all systems. This form, it may be mentioned in passing, was the origin of the blunted end type  common in Egypt. The Attic standard was particularly fertile in the production of animal types, a unique bear's head and a gazelle being among the specimens.







With regard to the dating of the weights little can be proved. Those coming from Kahun are generally of the XIIth dynasty, and those from Gurob are of the XVIIIth. Quft, on the other hand, was an inhabited town during so many dynasties, that the numerous weights found there cannot be dated. Now and then one is able to assign a dynasty to a weight by the aid of its inscription, but this is a rare occurrence.

In the following list the weights are classified according to their standards, and are almost without exception illustrated in the plates. The references are as follows:—P.I. stands for Prof. Petrie's "Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob"; P.A. for his "Tell el-Amarna"; and P.N.B. for his "Naqada and Ballas."

THE EGYPTIAN *KEDET*, OR *KAT* STANDARD. (Plates I, II.)


4916. Large, oblong limestone, inscribed  "30." It comes from Kahun, and weighs at present 22,235 grains, and originally about 22,860. Taking the unit as 762, its value is 30 *half* debens, i.e., 150 kedets. P.I. 14.

7009. Bronze, similar object. It weighs 1,547·5, or originally 1507 grains, and is thus also one deben, or 10 kedets of 150·7 grains. (See 7002.)
7010. Syenite, domed, inscribed  "9." It weighs 1,322 grains, and is thus nine kedets (unit 146·88).
7011. Bronze, almond shaped, octagonal, with handle, round which a band has been twisted to bring up the weight to the correct standard, which is five kedets. It now weighs 749·8 grains, but as it has gained some 45, the unit stands at 141·16. It was purchased at Cairo in 1885.
7012. Bronze, double almond shape; weight anciently, 770, now 772·5 grains, and, taking the unit as 154, the value works out to five kedets.
7013. Copper, cone shaped; from Karnak (1890). It weighs 723·7, or originally 760 grains, *i.e.*, 5 kedets of 152 grains.
7014. Limestone, inscribed . The weight, 571 grains, anciently 572·5, shows it to have been four kedets, with a unit of 143·12.
7015. Almond shaped, lead, inscribed . It comes from Gurob, and weighs 415·6, or originally about 420 grains. It is thus three kedets of 140 grains.
7016. Hæmatite, almond shaped, inscribed with a cross. It comes from Tartus, and weighs 295·5 grains, *i.e.*, (2 × 147·75) two kedets, or rather one *double* kedet.
7017. Bronze lion, couchant, weighing 312 grains. It is a *double* kedet of 156 × 2 grains. (For form see 7073, 7083.)
7018. Small bronze bull's head, filled with lead; from Gurob. Weight 304·9 grains, or originally 307, *i.e.*, a double kedet of 153·5 × 2 unit. P.A. 31.
7019. Slate stone, very neat workmanship, inscribed  = "½" in red paint. It weighs 139·3 grains, *i.e.*, half a *double* kedet, and comes from Quft.
7020. Basalt, inscribed  "½." Weight, 156 grains, *i.e.*, half a *double* kedet.
7021. Bronze head, or actor's mask. Very rough work. Its value is one kedet (148 grains).
7022. Serpentine, cone-shaped, with hole drilled through the upper portion. It weighs 70·7 grains, and is thus a half of a kedet in value.

- gold" gives a unit of 100·26, that is ten *half* 200·52 units. This object was found in the Hu tomb, Y. 458; and belongs to the Egypt Exploration Fund.
7038. Limestone, inscribed || "2." The weight is 841·9 grains, and the value therefore two *double* 210·47 units. It comes from Quft.
7039. Basalt, inscribed on three sides || "2." It weighs 416·3 grains, and is thus two 208·15 grain units.
7040. Steatite, inscribed . It weighs 419 grains, giving a unit of 209·5 × 2.
7041. Limestone, inscribed . It weighs 428·4 grains, *i.e.*, a unit of 214·2 × 2.
7042. Steatite, inscribed  "3." The weight is 322·8 grains, and it is three *half* 215·2 grain units in value.
7043. Coarse sandstone, from the tomb of King Sma, Dynasty O, weighing 437·2 grains. It is thus a *double* gold unit of 218·6 × 2 grains.
7044. Grey steatite, inscribed  "1" gold. It weighs 194·7, and comes from Quft.
7045. Alabaster, inscribed  "1." It comes from Defenneh, and weighs 201 grains. As it is sandworn, like many of the objects from Defenneh, it perhaps weighed anciently 206 grains.
7046. Malachite, almond shaped; from the tomb of King Zer. It weighs 205·6, but has lost sufficient to bring its original weight up to 210, *i.e.*, one gold unit.
7047. Hæmatite, pierced with a hole through which a ring of bronze wire is inserted. It is inscribed |, and weighs 199·4 grains, *i.e.*, one gold unit. It comes from Tyre (1882).
7048. Black steatite, inscribed  "½ gold." It weighs 96·7 grains, which gives a unit of 193·4. It was obtained at Quft.
7049. Hard brown limestone; from Smyrna (1884). Its weight is 50·1 grains; and it is thus one quarter of a gold unit.
7050. Copper ring; from Thebes. It weighs 49·6, or originally 50·1 grains also, *i.e.*, one quarter of a gold unit


In Plate IV an illustration is given of a set of gold dust measures found at Naqada, and described in Mr. Petrie's *Memoir*—P.N.B. 67—where only an outline drawing is published of them. Each of the cups has double the capacity of the next smaller, and they are arranged on the deben system from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{128}$. The 128th part of a deben, be it noted, is the Ethiopian *pek*. The set is probably of the XVIIIth dynasty.

THE ASSYRIAN SHEKEL STANDARD. (Plates IV, V.)

7051. Large syenite weight, oblong, rounded corners. The inscription is very badly engraved, but Prof. Petrie has suggested the reading  "Ten iron," about which there is little doubt. It weighs 37,900 grains, working out as 300 Assyrian shekels of 126·3 grains, and implying a *maneh* of 30 shekels.
7052. Hæmatite duck form; from Sparta (1892). It weighs 2,580 grains, and is 20 Assyrian shekels in value. Unit, 129.
7053. Basalt head of rough workmanship, probably intended to represent a lion. Weight 1,302 grains, ten Assyrian shekels. On the forehead is the numeral \downarrow , "30," implying a unit of a *third* of a shekel. Or again it may be on the Persian basis, representing 30 *half-siglos* (43·4).
7054. Blue glass scarab, from Sakkara (1882). It weighs 933·2 grains, and is therefore $7\frac{1}{2}$ shekels, or $\frac{1}{8}$ mina. Unit 124·42 grains. (For form, see 7059.)
7055. Green serpentine, oblong, inscribed 11, and possibly also inscribed with hieroglyphs. It now weighs 498·5 grains, but the original weight was about 502·5. It is thus two *double* Assyrian shekels (unit 251·25).
7056. Bronze duck, with head forward. Around the neck are one and-a-half turns of bronze wire. This was added to bring the object up to the correct weight—two shekels. It weighs 266·7 grains now, and originally about 256. Cairo, 1885.
7057. Bronze duck's head, weighing 128 grains, or probably 125 originally, *i.e.*, one Assyrian shekel.

7058. Small bronze lion, couchant, with loop at back. Weight 62.9 grains, originally 62.5, *i.e.*, half a shekel of 125 grains. It was obtained at Tyre in 1882.
7059. White glass scarab, from Sakkara (1882). It weighs 63 grains one half shekel.
7060. Deep blue glass scarab, obtained in Egypt in 1885. It weighs 61 grains, *i.e.*, one half shekel. (For form, see 7059.)
7061. Bronze duck, head forward. One third of an Assyrian shekel, 40 grains. (For form, see 7082.)
7062. White quartz, duck form, weight 16.2 grains, one eighth of a shekel of 129.6 grains. It was purchased at Cairo in 1884. (For form, see 7024, 7052.)

THE ATTIC DRACHMA STANDARD. (Plate V.)

7063. Limestone, square, rounded edges, from Quft. It weighs 13,563 grains, or, anciently, 13,573, and is inscribed $\Pi\Pi\Pi\Pi$ "50," *i.e.*, fifty tetradrachmæ. Unit $67.86 \times 4 = 271.46$.
7064. Bronze bull, filled with lead through a small hole on the under side. It weighs 2,760 grains, or perhaps originally 2,790. It is thus 40 drachmæ of 69.75 grains, or it may be 20 kedets.
7065. Bronze bull's head, in a bad state of preservation. It has been filled with lead, but a portion has fallen out, making the weight—now 2,516 grains—anciently about 2,720, *i.e.*, 40 Attic drachmæ of 68 grains.
7066. Hæmatite bear's head, weighing 1,344 grains, *i.e.*, 20 Attic drachmæ of 67.2 grains.
7067. Bronze, well preserved bull's head, filled with lead. It comes from Tell-el-Amarna, and weighs 1,353.7 grains, or originally 1,352, *i.e.*, 20 drachmæ of 67.6 grains. P.A. 31.
7068. Bronze gazelle, couchant. Around the neck some bands of bronze wire have been added, bringing the original weight up to about 334 grains. Since cleaning it weighs 309.5 grains. It is thus five drachmæ (66.8).
7069. A XXVIth dynasty weight, inscribed  *Aa-tha* *se Heruza*, "Aa-tha, son of Heruza." It weighs 676.9 grains, *i.e.*, ten Attic drachmæ of 67.69 unit. It is made of burnt syenite. Found at Memphis.

7080. Hæmatite, from Quft. It weighs 225·2, *i.e.*, one shekel.
 7081. Syenite, oblong, inscribed \supset " $\frac{1}{2}$." It comes from Q and weighs 117·4. It is thus half of a shekel of 234·8.
 7082. Copper duck, filled with lead. It weighs 208·6 grains, anciently 217, and its value is one shekel.
 7083. Small bronze lion, couchant, on a plinth. One shekel, grains, originally 221.
 7084. Bronze hedgehog, weighing 113·7 grains, or originally 1 *i.e.*, half of a shekel of 216 grains.
 7085. Bronze frog, obtained in Lower Egypt in 1881. It weighs 124·1 grains, and originally about 116, *i.e.*, one Phœnician shekel.
 7086. Bronze bull, couchant. Weight 58·5 grains, or originally *i.e.*, one quarter shekel of 228 grains.

It will be best to mention here a set of six lead weights found Tell el-Amarna, together with a glass whorl, patterned in blue & yellow. They are of the Roman period (Constantine age), & their values are on the basis of the *stater* or half shekel of Ptolemaic system, derived from the Phœnician. They are inscribed respectively I, II, III, IIII, IIII, and IIIIII, and their weights will be seen in the table at the end of this article, or in P.A. 31. A sketch of them has not been published before. (See Plate VI.)

THE PERSIAN SIGLOS STANDARD. (Plate VII.)

7087. Limestone, from Quft, inscribed ||||| "5." It weighs 1,687 or anciently 1,692 grains, *i.e.*, five *four-siglos* units.
 7088. Hæmatite, weighing 348·55 grains, *i.e.*, four siglos of 87·1 grains.
 7089. Hæmatite, head of a man, roughly carved, flat at back. It comes from Quft, and weighs 352 grains, which would make its value four 88-grain siglos. It may, however, have been broken off at the neck from a more complete figure, and in this case the value is, of course, unknown.
 7090. Copper lion, couchant, from Cairo. It weighs 348·7 grains and is four 87·17-grain siglos.
 7091. Bronze frog, from Alexandria. It weighs 183·6, or originally 172 grains, and is thus two 86-grain Persian siglos. (For form see 7085.)




THE ÆGINETAN DRACHMA STANDARD. (Plate VII.)

7092. Basalt, oblong, rough work, inscribed ||||| "6." It now weighs 1,178·4 grains, and anciently 1,181. This gives a unit of $98·42 \times 2 = 196·83$, and makes the value six *double* Æginetan drachmæ.
7093. Bronze, ornamental design, flat at the back. It is inscribed on the outer edge ||||, and weighs 180 grains, or originally 184. The unit is thus $46 \times 2 = 92$, and its value four *half* Æginetan drachmæ of light weight.
7094. Hæmatite, representing a conventionalized tortoise, or perhaps a shell. Weight 92·3 grains, *i.e.*, one light drachma.
7095. Bronze tortoise, with loop on the back. It weighs 88·2, but by the form it must undoubtedly be Æginetan—of a fraudulent value.

This completes the weights which have been selected for this article. In order that the material may be easily evident to the eye, a table, constructed on similar lines to those appearing in the Memoirs, is appended. The numbers under 7000 are already published; the new material begins with No. 7000.

THE EGYPTIAN KEDET STANDARD.

No.	Material.	Inscription.	Ancient Weight.	+	Unit.
4916	Limestone ...	 n	22,860	150	152·4
7000	Grey granite	n III II	20,666	150	137·77
7001	Limestone ...	[See plate]	15,600	100	156·
7002	Bronze ...	—	7,926·5	50	158·53
7003	Limestone ...	nn	6,000	40	150·
7004	Basalt ...	nn	5,770	40	144·25


THE EGYPTIAN KEDET STANDARD—*continued.*

No.	Material.	Inscription.	Ancient Weight.	+	Unit.
A. 7005	Black quartz	—	3,670·7	25	146·82
4914	Alabaster ...	||||	2,951·3	20	147·6
7006	Basalt ...	||||	1,405·9	10	140·59
7007	Hæmatite ...	|||| ∩ ||||	1,396·6	10	139·66
7008	Bronze ...	—	1,455	10	145·5
7009	Bronze ...	—	1,507	10	150·7
7010	Syenite ...	\\\\\\\\\\\\	1,322	9	146·88
7011	Bronze ...	—	704·8	5	141·16
7012	Bronze ...	—	770	5	154·
7013	Copper ...	—	760	5	152·
7014	Limestone ...	||||	572·5	4	143·12
7015	Lead ...	|||	420	3	140·
7016	Hæmatite ...	—	295·5	2	147·75
7017	Bronze ...	—	312	2	156·
7018	Bronze and lead	—	307	2	153·5
7019	Slate ...	o 11 o	139·3	—	139·3
7020	Basalt ...	11 o 1	156·	—	156·
7021	Bronze ...	—	148·	—	148·
7022	Serpentine ...	—	70·7	× 2	141·4
7023	Steatite ...	|||| ||||	70·1	× 2	140·2
7024	Quartz crystal	—	74·7	× 2	149·4
7025	Bronze ...	—	72·9	× 2	145·8
7026	Hæmatite ...	—	35·2	× 4	140·8
7027	Hæmatite ...	o ||||	38·25	× 4	153·
7028	Serpentine ...	—	36·2	× 4	144·8


THE GOLD STANDARD.

No.	Material.	Inscription.	Ancient Weight.	+	Unit.
4920	Limestone ...	nnn	12,040	60	200·7
7039	Limestone ...	nnn nn	10,453	50	209·06
4942	Limestone ...	nnn	8,550	40	213·7
7030	Limestone ...	nnn	6,431	30	214·3
7031	Steatite ...	nnn	6,475	30	215·83
7032	Limestone ..	nn	6,450	30	215·
B. 7033	Alabaster ...	nnn nn	3,850	19	202·6
C. 7034	Alabaster ...	nnnnnnnn	3,802	18	211·22
7035	Limestone ...	nnn	1,509	8	188·62
7036	Basalt ...	nnn	1,275·6	6	212·6
D. 7037	Serpentine ...	nnnnnn nn	1,002·6	5	200·52
7038	Limestone ...	nn	841·9	4	210·47
7039	Alabaster ...	nn	416·3	2	208·15
7040	Steatite ...	nnn	419	2	209·5
7041	Limestone ...	nnn	428·4	2	214·2
7042	Steatite ...	nnn	322·8	1½	215·2
7043	Sandstone ...	nn	437·2	2	218·6
7044	Steatite ..	nnn	194·7	—	194·7
7045	Alabaster ...	nn	201·	—	201·
7046	Malachite ...	nn	205·6	—	205·6
7047	Hæmatite ...	nn	199·4	—	199·4
7048	Steatite ..	nnn	96·7	× 2	193·4
7049	Limestone ...	nn	50·1	× 4	200·4
7050	Copper	nn	50·1	× 4	200·4


THE ASSYRIAN SHEKEL STANDARD.

No.	Material.	Inscription.	Ancient Weight.	+	Unit.
7051	Syenite ...		37,900	300	126·3
7052	Hæmatite ...	—	2,580	20	129·
E. 7053	Basalt ...	—	1,302	10	130·2
7054	Blue glass ...	—	933·2	7½	124·42
7055	Serpentine ...	II	502·5	4	125·62
7056	Bronze ...	—	256	2	128·
7057	Bronze ...	—	125	—	125·
7058	Bronze ...	—	62·5	× 2	125·
7059	White glass...	—	63	× 2	126·
7060	Blue glass ...	—	61	× 2	122·
7061	Bronze ...	—	40	× 3	120·
7062	White quartz	—	16·2	× 8	129·6

THE ATTIC DRACHMA STANDARD.

7063	Limestone ...	nnnnn	13,573	200	67·86
F. 7064	Bronze and lead	—	2,790	40	69·75
7065	Bronze and lead	—	2,720	40	68·
7066	Hæmatite ...	—	1,344	20	67·2
7067	Bronze and lead	—	1,352	20	67·6
7068	Bronze ...	—	334	5	66·8
7069	Burnt Syenite		676·9	10	67·69
7070	Hæmatite ...	—	268·7	4	67·17
G. 7071	Bronze ...	—	133	2	66·5

THE PHœNICIAN SHEKEL STANDARD.

No.	Material.	Inscription.	Ancient.	+	Unit.
7072	Limestone ..	nn	9,030	40	225·7
H. 7073	Bronze ...	vn	2,600	12½	208·
7074	Limestone ..	III	1,386	6	231·
7075	Basalt ...	III	1,382	6	230·33
7076	Basalt ..		451·8	2	225·9
7077	Bronze ...	—	420	2	210·
7078	Slate ...	o	231·2	—	231·2
7079	Bronze ...	—	231	—	231·
7080	Hæmatite ...	—	225·2	—	225·2
7081	Syenite ...	≡	117·4	× 2	234·8
7082	Copper and Lead	—	217	—	217·
7083	Bronze ...	—	221	—	221·
7084	Bronze ...	—	108	× 2	216·
7085	Bronze ...	—	116	× 2	232·
7086	Bronze ..	—	57	× 4	228·

THE PERSIAN SIGLOS STANDARD.

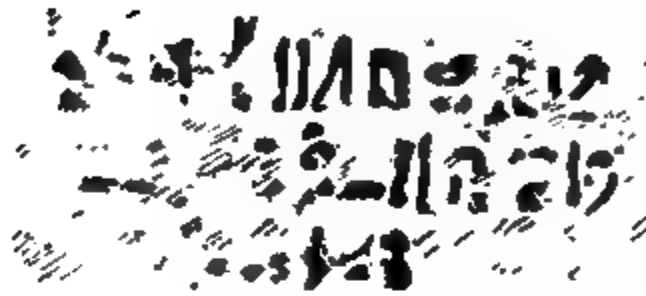
7087	Limestone ...	IIII	1,692	20	84·6
7088	Hæmatite ...	—	348·55	4	87·14
7089	Hæmatite ..	—	352·	4	88·
7090	Copper ..	—	348·7	4	87·17
7091	Bronze ...	—	172·	2	86·



4916



7000



7001

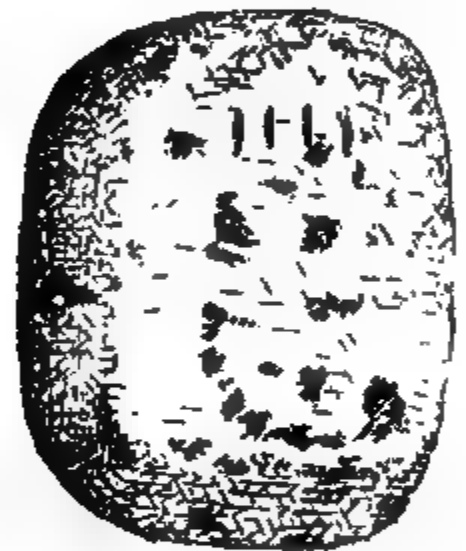


7003



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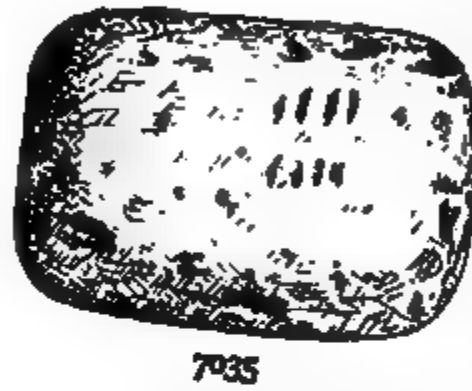
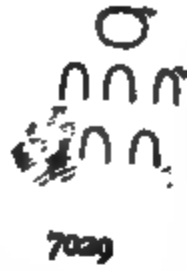
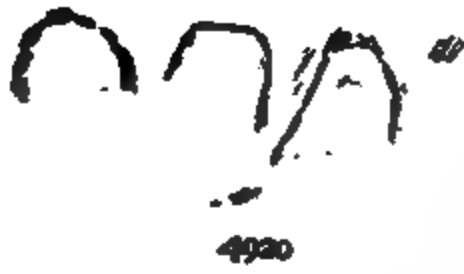


7027



7028

THE GOLD STANDARD.



7036

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7039

7040



THE GOLD STANDARD—*continued.*



7042

7043



7044



7045



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7050

GOLD-DUST MEASURES. From Naqada.



THE ASSYRIAN *SHEKEL* STANDARD.



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7052



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THE ATTIC *DRACHMA* STANDARD.



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LEAD WEIGHTS AND A GLASS WHORL. From Tell-el-Amarna.



THE PERSIAN *SIGLOS* STANDARD.

7087



7088



7089

7090

THE ÆGINETAN *DRACHMA* STANDARD.

7092

7093



7094



7095

THE ÆGINETAN DRACHMA STANDARD.

No.	Material.	Inscription.	Ancient Weight.	÷	Unit.
7092	Basalt ..	IIIIII	1,181	12	98·42
7093	Bronze ...	IIII	184	2	92·
7094	Hæmatite ..	—	92·3	—	92·3
7095	Bronze ...	—	88·2	—	88·2

THE SET OF SIX STATER WEIGHTS. (Plate VI, *see* p. 389.)

—	Lead ...	IIIIII IIIIII	1,377	12	114·7
—	„ ...	III III	694	6	115·7
—	„ ..	II III	564	5	112·8
—	„ ...	III	347	3	115·7
—	„ ...	II	226	2	113·
—	„ ...	I	190	?	190·

In the above table, as will be seen in the description of the weights, A. may be 30 shekels of 122·35 grains ; B. was originally 30 shekels of 128·33 grains ; C. was originally 30 shekels of 126·73 grains ; D. is also 8 shekels of 125·32 grains ; E. may be 30 half siglos (43·4 grains) ; F. may be 20 kedets ; G. may be a heavy shekel ; and H. is in other words 50 Phœnician drachmæ of 52 grains.



INSCRIPTIONS CONCERNING DIANA OF THE EPHESIANS.

BY SEYMOUR DE RICCI.

The following remarkable bilingual inscription was found in 1898 at Ephesus, during the excavations made in the theatre by order and at the expense of the Austrian Government. It was first published by Professor Rudolf Heberdey in the 27th number of the 1898 volume (14th December, 1898) of the *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*. This periodical I have not seen myself, but Professor Heberdey's article is reprinted throughout in the *Beiblatt* to the 1899 *Jahresheft des Oesterreichischen archaeologischen Institutes in Wien*.^{*} Our inscription is published in italics only, and Professor Cagnat's text in capitals is a purely conventional restoration (if not supplied by private information).[†] The inscription is stated to be repeated on a series of stone pedestals. The only difference between the several copies appears to be the name of the *phyle* engraved on the back of each of the monuments: "*Auf der Rückseite*," says Heberdey, "*stehen in grossen Lettern die Namen der Phylen*."

Here then is Heberdey's text:—

*Dianae Ephesiae
et phyle Teion*

*C. Vibius C. F. Uof. Salutaris promag. | portuum prouinc. Siciliae
item promag. fru | menti mancipalis praef. cohort. Asturum et Callaecorum
trib. mil. leg. XXII primigeniae p.f. subprocura | tor prouinc.
Mauretaniae Tingitanae item prouinc. Belgi | [c]ae Dianam argenteam
item imagines argenteas duas | [u]nam Lysimachi et aliam
phyles sua pecunia fecit ita ut [om]n[i]e ecclesia supra bases ponentur
ob quam dedicatio | nem in sortitionem sex phylae consecravit
IS XXXIIICCCX[XX]III[S].*

^{*} Column 43.

[†] *Revue archéologique*, 1899, vol. XXXV, p. 181 = *Année Epigraphique*, 1899, n. 64.